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THE INDIAN ARCHIVES

Volume IV
1950

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THE INDIAN ARCHIVES

Volume IV

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Number 1

EDITORS' NOTE

WITH this issue *The Indian Archives* enters into its fourth year of publication while it also becomes a bi-annual journal. The reasons for this change over have already been presented to our subscribers and other readers. We take this opportunity to thank the large number of archival institutions, manuscript and other libraries, government offices and individuals interested in archival administration whose good wishes and (more important) active support sustain us. Our particular thanks are due to our contributors who, busy people as they are, have found time to enrich the journal by contributing learned and useful articles to it without remuneration. Their sacrifice has not been in vain for we have reasons to believe that they have succeeded in arousing interest in this country on a subject which is obscured by ignorance and apathy.

We have the painful duty of reporting the untimely death of one of our colleagues, Dr. N. C. Chatterji. An entomologist by profession, Dr. Chatterji was interested in one of the major archival problems in the tropics, namely, the preservation of archives against insect inroads. Dr. Chatterji died of heart failure on 20 February, 1950 at the age of 60. Our sincere sympathies go to his family.

The Indian Archives has lost the services of its first Chief Editor, Dr. S. N. Sen, whose untiring efforts kept the journal alive through most difficult days. He relinquished the post of Director of Archives of the Government of India at the end of October 1949 to take over the Chair of History at the University of Delhi. Since then he has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of that University, a distinction he richly deserved. We congratulate Dr. Sen on his appointment.

During the current year the Editors hope to wipe off the arrears and bring *The Indian Archives* up to date. As already announced, our next issue will be dedicated to the memory of Joseph Cuvelier.

A NOTE ON THE DIPLOMATIC OF SOME KHALSA DARBAR PARWANAS

SITA RAM KOHLI

Ranbir College, Sangrur

I HAVE BEEN LATELY WORKING on a collection of Parwanas issued from the Court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh to Sardar Tej Singh, Officer Commanding the Ain Troops (troops organized on European model) of the Lahore Darbar. They belong to the period 14 November 1833 to 21 December 1834. These Parwanas do not form a collection of the original orders issued from the court of the Maharaja, but are their true copies maintained in the office of Sardar Tej Singh to whom they were addressed. They are reproduced in a small leather-bound volume entitled *Kitab Naql Parwanjat Ahwal Campu-i-Mualla ibtida-i-Mah Maghar Sambat 1890*. The manuscript comprises 46 folios. A folio measures 12 inches \times 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches and the number of lines vary between 17 and 21. Each page has one line in red on the top, one at the bottom, one on the left margin and two lines on the right-hand margin with an intervening space of half an inch.

During 1915-19 when I was engaged in examining the records of Ranjit Singh's government, I came across a number of the original Parwanas amongst the papers of the Diwan's office. It was found that an official Parwana invariably bore the impression of the *mohr* or the office seal in the margin or at the back. It also bore the words '*darj kitab shud*' or simply '*darj shud*' i.e. entered in the register, and also the words *mulahiza shud* i.e. seen and attested. Another word or a sort of sign manual which one quite frequently comes across in these Parwanas is *sahi* or *nishani* composed of three Gurmukhi letters (*sahi*) denoting *sassa*, *haha* and *bihari*.¹

Before a Parwana was actually despatched from the Darbar, it was obligatory on the diarist to copy the whole of the text in the office register and make a note to this effect on the back of the document ('*darj kitab shud*'). It was also obligatory for the Hazuri Munshi to affix the office seal to the document before it left his office. The attention of the addressee was pointedly drawn to these facts and he was asked to satisfy himself about the authenticity of the document by

¹ *Sahi* is the Hindi form of the Arabic word *sahih* meaning correct or authentic. In popular parlance as also in the Khalsa Darbar Records, the word came to denote *nishani* or *dastkhat* (signature).

examining the seal and other particulars. The closing words of a Parwana invariably are '*sabt mohr nishani darj rapt ast, mulahiza sazand*'.

Out of the 461 documents copied in the volume there is only one which was despatched from the office without the seal being affixed to it, and, in this case, the fact is pertinently mentioned at the end of the Parwana that the *mohr* (signet) was not available at the moment.

Another noticeable feature about these Parwanas is that besides the usual mention of the place and date of a Parwana, we sometimes find that the actual hour (if it was out of the court hours) or the particular occasion or the exact spot where the Munshi had received verbal instructions from the Maharaja are also noted in the body of the document. If the instructions were actually conveyed by an officer or a personal attendant of the Maharaja, this fact was also added at the end of the text. These messages, it appears, were conveyed to the Munshi by all sorts of dignitaries from the Prime Minister down to the umbrella-bearer of the Maharaja. It may be that the Munshi deliberately noted these details either to safeguard his own position or for his personal guidance in case a reference was made to him on some later occasion.

I have compared the contents of some of the more important Parwanas with the datewise account given by Sohan Lal, the Court Historian, in his voluminous book, *Roznamcha Ranjit Singh*, and I am perfectly satisfied about the authenticity of the documents reproduced in this volume; and, I have no doubt in my mind that these are true copies of the original Parwanas issued by the Darbar to Sardar Tej Singh. The only point which was not clear to me when I did the first reading of this volume some years ago was whether it was the office copy maintained by the Receipt Clerk of the Office of Sardar Tej Singh or it was the one maintained at the office of issue. But on closer scrutiny I discovered that in very many cases the date and the name of the place (*maqam*) mentioned in the right-hand margin (in the space between the red lines) are different from the date and the name of the place (*derah*) given at the end of the text of a Parwana. The date and the place given in the body of the Parwana stand for the place and the date of issue under orders of the Maharaja, whereas those given in the margin indicate the names of the places where the camp of the Sardar happened to be when the Parwana was actually delivered to him. The date of the actual receipt of the *dak* was also noted by the Receipt Clerk, along with the *maqam* or place

where the troops were camping. The use of two Persian words with two distinct connotations also favours the same impression. The word *maqam* which ordinarily means the place of halt denotes the place where Sardar Tej Singh was stationed, whereas for the camp of the Maharaja the more dignified word of *derah* is used.

The next point which needs to be determined in this connection is whether the copy in my possession is the original copy maintained in the office of Sardar Tej Singh or is it only a copy prepared later from the Sardar's office copy. I am inclined to the view that it is the original office copy and my reasons are as follows. It is customary with the copyists of such manuscripts to introduce themselves either in the preamble or give their name and address at the end of the book together with the day of the week and the date of the month and the year when the work was completed. But we do not come across anything like this in the copy under consideration. It begins with the first day of the month of *Maghar*, *Sambat* 1890, as if the previous Receipt Register was finished and a fresh one automatically started. Similarly, the postings of the Parwanas was stopped in this register on folio 43 (total leaves being only 46) as ordinarily it would have been done unless the clerk was obsessed with considerations of economy and had utilized even the last two or three leaves. On the contrary, there is sufficient internal evidence to warrant that the copy in my possession is the original copy of Sardar Tej Singh's office. The practice with the Sardar's office was to record the full text of the Parwana in the register immediately as it was received. This little volume is thus maintained datewise, all along. There are, however, about a dozen Parwanas which have been reproduced in the margins of the pages rather than in their proper chronological sequence in the body of the book. This is because either the officer commanding forgot to pass on to the office a particular Parwana with the rest of the daily *dak* or that the Receipt Clerk, by an oversight or for rush of work, had missed to reproduce one on the due date. The chronological sequence, it seems, was observed with so much sanctity that it was not considered proper to disturb it even though a Parwana actually received about the middle of the month had to be entered in the book a fortnight later, i.e. after the closing date of the month. We come across such notes more than once in our copy. Another point which strengthens my conviction that the copy in my possession is the original copy of Sardar Tej Singh's office are a number of endorsements and compliance notes scribbled in the margin by the office superintendent.

Besides the above mentioned internal evidence there is also what

may be called corroborative evidence to show that the copy with me is the original one. On folio 45b, we come across some half a dozen chronograms celebrating the occasion of the birth of a son of Munshi Ram Ditta Mal. In one of the chronograms, L. Ram Ditta Mal is spoken of as "the most learned among the Munshis" (*ki-shud-az-jumla-munshian-fazil, etc.*). In another there is an implied reference to the fact that L. Ram Ditta Mal was employed in the army department. I have also a clear recollection that Rai Bahadur Wazir Chand who made me a gift of this copy mentioned to me that he had secured it from the private collection of L. Dass Mal of Lahore who was directly connected with the family of Munshi Ram Ditta Mal. This leaves no doubt in my mind that the copy in my possession is the original copy of Tej Singh's office.

The present volume contains office copies of the Parwanas for a period of 13 months only. There may be several other similar volumes relating to years before and after these dates which have either perished or may be still lying in oblivion in unknown private households.

As for the subject matter of these Parwanas, they cover a very wide range of subjects. Sardar Tej Singh to whom they are addressed held the administrative charge of the *campu-i-mualla* or that portion of the troops of the Maharaja which were trained in the Western methods of drill and discipline. For whatsoever purpose the services of these troops ranging from half a squad to a full company of 100 strong, were required all such fall within the purview of these documents. If a guard of men was required for the service treasury or for the Maharaja's kitchen (*langar*) when he was on tour, a Parwana would be sent to Sardar Tej Singh. If a recalcitrant zamindar refused to pay his revenues to the collector of his Pargana or an old jagirdar or ijaradar (farmer of revenue) was unnecessarily long in making over the charge to a new grantee, Sardar Tej Singh was ordered to furnish the requisite military help to instal the new man in his office. If a report was received of a free fight between two neighbouring villages or of a more influential local zamindar having forcibly (*az sina zori*) ousted a weaker neighbour from his lands, Sardar Tej Singh's help was requisitioned. If the poles of the wooden frame-work of the Maharaja's mosquito-net needed repair or the wooden *mugdars* of certain specified weight were required for the personal use (physical exercise) of the Maharaja, order would be placed with the *Mistri Khana* of the army and the price of the articles would be settled in advance. Similarly, when fresh orders were to be placed with the private *mistries* and contractors for the supply of saddlery, ammuni-

tion and arms for the army, a requisition slip (Parwana) would be sent to Sardar Tej Singh. When the army was on the march, and the Maharaja himself was either in Lahore or was following the troops by easy marches, he kept on sending detailed instructions to Sardar Tej Singh as to where he should halt for the night, in what manner and order he should make his troops cross the rivers at the ferries and what arrangements he should make for collecting fodder and fuel for his troops.

These and a variety of other interesting administrative details are contained in these Parwanas. When an annotated edition of this little volume is placed in the hands of a reader, it will, I feel sure, enable him to visualize a true picture of the day to day administration of the Darbar of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. In my opinion the publication of this series of Parwanas will make a valuable addition to the existing historical literature of the Panjab.

ENEMIES OF RECORDS¹

PURNENDU BASU

National Archives of India, New Delhi.

IT has been seen what are government records and why at least some of them merit expenditure of time and money for their indefinite preservation. The next question to consider is, how best to preserve the records and administer them so that they fulfil the purposes for which they are preserved. Obviously, their mere preservation is not enough; they must be kept in such a way that they can be used. There are three aspects to the question: (1) the physical preservation of the valuable records; (2) their organization so that they may be easily consulted; and (3) preventing their improper use. All these three are of equal importance and all of them call for certain comparatively expensive measures. I shall make a dogmatic statement here, and it is that only by concentrating the valuable records in a properly equipped central repository can a government ensure their proper preservation, physical and moral, proper organization and maximum service out of them. My justifications for such a statement will be brought out in this and the subsequent article. In this article I shall deal with the enemies of records touching also briefly on their antidotes.

What are the principal enemies of records? They are, generally speaking, time, fire, water, light, heat, dust, humidity, atmospheric gases, fungi, vermin, "acts of God" and, last but not least, human beings. All these have deleterious effects on record materials and unless timely steps are taken to neutralize these effects, the records are destined to perish. Most of these factors present more acute problems in a tropical country like India. The principal record materials are paper, parchment, palm leaf (in India), ink, typewriter ribbon, carbon, pencil, wax (for seals), leather, cloth, photographic films and prints, and sound recordings. They all tend to deteriorate with time and with careless handling. Fire can of course reduce a whole lot of records into ashes, and an inundation can reduce them into a mass of pulp, later dried into solid blocks with the writing washed out. "Acts of God" like an earthquake or a stroke of lightning

¹ This is the third article in a series intended to introduce the subject of Records and their administration to laymen. The first two articles entitled "What are Records" and "Why Preserve Records" appeared in *The Indian Archives* of 1948 (Nos. 2-4) and 1949 (Nos. 1-4) respectively.

or man-made war with its bombing and incendiarism can similarly destroy records. Only certain precautions can be taken against such eventualities and after that trust has to be placed in luck. But for such of the enemies of records as heat, light, humidity, atmospheric gases, dust, fungi and vermin, modern research has succeeded in devising effective preventives and antidotes which any record repository worth the name should be equipped with. We will take up each of these in turn and then turn back to less controllable factors. Since paper constitutes the principal record material with which we are concerned today, I shall mainly deal with the effect of these elements on paper.

Without going into the details of paper manufacture it can be stated in brief that paper consists chiefly of cellulose fibres bound together by means of "sizing" consisting of rosin or rosin and alum or some such substance for greater strength frequently "coated" for greater opacity and for providing better writing or printing surface. The inherent strength of paper depends on the length of the cellulose fibres and their freedom from impurities ; it does not indeed matter very much what the raw material is from which the paper pulp is made. The lasting quality of the paper is also affected by acidity which may be imparted among other things by the sizing material. The ink used in making records is also important in determining the longevity of the record. Certain kinds of ink tend to fade, the writing disappearing completely after a length of time. Other inks due to their acid qualities eat into the paper and destroy it. An ink in an alkaline medium containing a permanent pigment is what is required. Carbon and pencil copies do not fade by themselves, but with use become smudged or faint.

So much about the most common record materials. How to retard their natural decay with age or, in other words, how to preserve them from the effects of light, heat, humidity, dust, fungi and vermin? It is common experience that paper exposed to excessive light becomes discoloured. In India (perhaps also elsewhere) one of the popular modes of fighting fungi and insects in books is to expose the affected books and papers to the sun for a whole day or two. This may be effective against the vermin, but it also ruins the paper which thus exposed becomes discoloured and brittle. The remedy is as dangerous as the ailment. The ultra-violet rays in sunlight or artificial lights are highly injurious to the cellulose fibres in the paper which must be protected against exposure to such rays. So far as light is concerned, ideal conditions for paper preservation would be provided by a

completely windowless room lighted by low powered bulbs only when necessary. But there are other considerations, as we shall see, which may not make this practicable. Plain glass does not cut off the injurious rays of light, therefore care should be taken that direct sunlight even through glass panes does not fall on the records in the room where they are kept. The windows may be draped with heavy curtains which will cut off light or diffuse it. Yellow panes help in keeping out some of the injurious rays. Or, the records may be kept in closed containers.

Next to light comes heat. Excessive heat has the effect of making the paper brittle which will crumble into dust after some time. Excessive variation in temperature has an equally deleterious effect on paper. It results in the cellulose fibres expanding and contracting over and over again, thus weakening them. Equally important is the relative humidity of the air in the stack rooms. Too little humidity tends to dry the cellulose fibres and rob them of their resilience, while too much humidity encourages the growth of mould. In India we are all familiar with the fungous growth on all articles including books and paper during the rainy season. The fact is that the air around us has all the time fungus spores floating in it, and when the humidity of the air goes above a certain point, these spores settle down on objects and the mould grows. Often it will be noticed that old books or papers have an ugly brown patch which is called "foxing" and results from a localized deposit of iron rust from a particular kind of fungus.

Experiments have shown that a temperature between 65°F and 75°F is the best for the health of paper. Fortunately, this temperature is also comfortable for human beings. As to humidity, a moisture content of below 30 per cent in the air tends to cause too much dryness, while above 75 per cent, even for a short time, it encourages the growth of mould. It is obvious that relative humidity of the air in the stack room should be somewhere between 30 and 75 per cent, say 50 per cent. The conditions of temperature and humidity, viz. 65°—75°F and 50 per cent, should be maintained constantly, twenty-four hours in the day all the year round. In India there is hardly a place where such optimum conditions can be met with normally. The obvious conclusion is that resort has to be had to air conditioning by which means alone these conditions can be ensured.

Air conditioning has other advantages besides maintaining the required temperature and relative humidity in the stack area. It helps in neutralizing the effects of atmospheric gases and keeping out

dust." The most common atmospheric gas which we have to contend against is sulphur dioxide which is produced by the combustion of coal and oil and is usually abundant in the air particularly in cities and industrial areas. The concentration of sulphur dioxide in air varies from time to time and from place to place, but even in dilutions of 0.5 to 1 part per million part of air it is readily absorbed by paper fibres. The gas then combines with the oxygen and moisture of the air and forms sulphuric acid which affects the cellulose fibres and finally breaks the fibrous structure of the paper. With time the amount of sulphuric acid in the paper increases and its effect is accelerated. Therefore, freeing the air from the sulphur dioxide is an essential for the preservation of records. If the record repository is air conditioned, free supply of outer air in it can be entirely cut off and the air that is pumped in can be passed through the spray chamber of the air conditioning system where the chilled water used for controlling moisture and treated with an alkaline solution (usually soda ash, potassium dichromate and sodium silicate) can effectively oxidize the fresh air and remove the sulphur dioxide from it. This alkaline wash will also remove a large proportion of the dust in the incoming air.

The effect of dust on paper is not merely to make it dirty or be a source of discomfort to the user. The tiny but hard and sharp particles of silica contained in dust rub against the paper while handling or even when there is a draught of air and cause abrasions in the paper fibre. Unfortunately the washing of air mentioned above does not eliminate all the dust particles in the air. Consequently, careful dusting has to be made of the records from time to time. Cleaning with a duster can take inordinately long time, besides being a little risky as damage to the paper may be caused by friction. Air cleaners have been used in large record repositories with good results.

So far we have dealt with the means to be adopted in order to maintain records in good condition by the control of light, temperature and humidity, and by eliminating dust and atmospheric gases. If the records are on good material, in a good state of preservation and unaffected by fungi and insects, then given the conditions and not mishandled, they should keep for an indefinite length of time. But one often notices that in the absence of those optimum conditions the old records intended to be preserved are already affected by fungi or insects, the papers torn, the ink fading, the paper weakened and breaking at the folds or edges, the papers smudged and stained, the seals breaking, and a hundred other things which unless set right may

lead to the total destruction of the records. Since this is not a manual on the preservation of records, I shall not go into the details of all the processes that have been devised to counteract the various afflictions. It will suffice to say that effective counter measures for all of them have been found.

As to moulds and insects, the only safe and effective way is fumigation. When dealing with records (it should always be remembered that records are unique things and once a piece is lost, there is no means of replacing it) care has to be taken to employ only such means of rehabilitation as would not adversely affect the record materials. Exposure to sun or interleaving with *neem* leaves, tobacco leaves, dried red chillies or even slough of snakes are some of the popular remedies against fungi and insects. Some place their faith on some DDT preparation or other commercial insecticide. Some of these nostrums are but partially effective, some not at all. Even when effective to a certain extent, the remedy may prove more harmful than the malady inasmuch as it might weaken the paper or fade the ink beyond measure, such as exposure to sun. The use of certain tried fumigants alone should be permissible which are effective without affecting the strength of the paper or the legibility of the writing. Such fumigation is provided, among others, by thymol paradichlorobenzene, carbon tetrachloride and a mixture of carbon dioxide and ethylene oxide. Some of these fumigants are toxic to human beings and all care should be taken to employ them only in air-tight chambers. Then there is another problem—exposure to the fumigants may kill the insects which the fumes reach; but how to ensure that the fumes penetrate into every chink and hole? Then what about the eggs which are not affected by the fumes? Experiments have proved that vacuum fumigation is the only effective means to take care of all these problems. The process is to stuff an air-tight chamber with the records to be treated and draw out the air creating a vacuum inside. The absence of pressure in the chamber makes the eggs burst. The fumigant is then introduced into the chamber which kills all living organisms in a specific time after which the gas is drawn out and fresh air reintroduced. Then the records are completely disinfected and can be transferred to the stacks which should themselves be kept free from infestation. In order to keep the stacks free from infestation certain definite measures can be taken. In the first place, the whole place should be fumigated and cleaned. After that it should be seen that no affected material comes into it. As a safety measure all new accessions should be fumigated before being

introduced into the stacks. Watch should be kept so that there is no termite invasion. Termites can arise out of cracks in the floor. Once a termite invasion is noticed—there is always the tell-tale earthen tunnel—the queen ant must be traced and killed, all tunnels broken and the insects killed. Some repellents should always be kept on the shelves, like pyrethrum, sodium fluoride, soda and starch mixture or naphthaline bricks. It should also be remembered that some repellents are also toxic to human beings and necessary precautions should be taken when employing them.

Having cleaned and disinfected the records, and after having made sure that they are provided with the most satisfactory housing conditions, the next thing to do is to go into the details of physical damage already sustained. If the paper is stained, it has to be cleaned; if torn it has to be repaired; if weakened it must be reinforced; and finally, if loose papers lend themselves to binding they should be bound up into volumes, otherwise placed into carton boxes before being finally stacked.

Again since this is not a manual on the preservation of records, I shall not go into the details of all the processes of rehabilitation of records. All I need say is that there are different processes to answer different needs. In short, flattening, washing and removal of stains, treatment of faded inks, reinforcing paper by glazing, sizing, mounting, inlaying, half margin repair, application of chiffon or Japanese tissue paper, lamination with transparent sheeting with or without adhesive and binding are all works of skill and can be performed well only after an intensive study of the processes and long practice. Not only that, a good deal of discretion has to be used in deciding which of the processes to apply in a particular case. Furthermore, special processes have been devised for repairing special materials like maps, charts, blueprints, photographic films and photoprints, sound recordings, seals, water or oil-soaked or charred records and records on parchment or palm leaf or birch bark. Some of the processes are comparatively simple and inexpensive, some involve the employment of machinery worth thousands of rupees, but all calling for specialized training and practice.

So much about non-human enemies of records. Human beings can be as much responsible for the destruction of records as the elements or insects. I am not only referring to mishandling or careless handling the effects of which are obvious. There are cases of bad appraisal. It is evident that every scrap of paper produced or received in an office cannot be kept for ever—they are not sufficiently

valuable to merit expenditure of money or energy for their preservation ; by being retained they only occupy valuable space and obscure the more valuable materials. So at some stage a selection has to be made of the records that can be destroyed without doing any harm to either administration or scholarship. Bad appraisal has often led to the valuable record being thrown away and the valueless kept. Then there are people who may use the information contained in records to the detriment of Government or of individuals. Again there are others who may wish to tamper with the records in order to destroy or distort evidence. There are some who are either collectors of autographs and seals or are mere kleptomaniacs, and it is a problem to guard the records against them. Finally, there are incendiarism or bombing, results of man-made war or revolution, which can cause total destruction of records. Providing security against so many possible enemies of records is a big problem, and the selection of the place where records are to be kept, the designing of building and its site, special construction with a view to affording maximum security are some of the considerations which go towards solving that problem.

It will be obvious from the preceding paragraphs that the problem of the preservation of records is a major and complex one, and that its solution requires expensive equipment and specially trained personnel. It is doubtful whether any government can afford to equip every individual department and office adequately for this purpose. Even were it able to do so, it would lead to much duplication of work and wastage. From the point of view of preservation and security alone it would be both economical and more efficient to concentrate all valuable records of the government, no matter to which agency they belong, in one central repository, in a specially constructed and air-conditioned building and adequately equipped with machinery and trained personnel. This still leaves out the other aspects of records administration, namely the utilization of records which alone is their *raison d'être*. This aspect of the problem will be taken up in the next article.

STORAGE AND PRESERVATION OF MAPS IN SWEDISH MILITARY ARCHIVES

BIRGER STECKZÉN

Kungl. Krigsarkivet, Stockholm

1. *Housing*

THE principal collections of the maps and plans in the Swedish Military Archives are stored in one room, as appears from the sketch (*figure no. 1*). This room is both a repository and map-reading room for the visitor. It has large windows in order to let in light. Perhaps it would be more practical to have smaller windows placed higher in the repository. In that case one would be able to arrange and rearrange the map-cases as necessity arises.

2. *Storage*

The main bulk of the maps are in steel cases, sort of cupboards of which the outside measurements are: 160 cm high, 164 cm. wide and 98 cm deep. Each case has 12 drawers, and the inside measurements of each drawer are 150 cm wide, 84 cm deep and, on the sides and at the back, 7 cm high. The sides of the drawers have two rails each between which run the vertical wheels of the inside of the cases. The drawers can be pulled out about 65 cm. At the edge of each drawer and on the inner and outer sides of the two doors of the case there are frames for lists of contents.

Because the Krigsarkivet has existed since 1805 and since different minds have been at work through the years on the problem of finding the ideal method of storage, the system actually in practice is not uniform. The maps in certain collections are piled up in bundles only 8 to 9 cm high between protecting boards, the bottom one being 3 mm in thickness and the top one 1 mm in thickness. This bundle is easy to manage and most suitable for storage of maps of uniform size or maps mounted on sheets of uniform size. Sometimes a pasteboard box is substituted for the two sheets. Half of the upper side of this box and the front edge can be opened. The box must be very well constructed to stand the strain. Great care has to be taken at the time of putting the maps in the box lest they should get folded. Another method is to put a smaller packet of maps into a folder of hard and stiff pasteboard or of artificial leather. About half a dozen

such covers can be made into a bundle and if the folders are made of smooth material and are not overloaded, this can be a useful method. The usual size of the bundle is about 70 × 80 cm. In this case some maps must be folded.

3. *Outsize maps*

There are some maps which are not folded but laid inside large covers one by one. Special cases are reserved for those. One must put only a few maps in each drawer. In the catalogue they are called "outsize maps", and in the general series a pasteboard slip is placed where they would have originally been. This method is adopted for a small number of precious manuscript maps. Other outsize maps are folded. Some maps have been rolled, but this method has proved unsatisfactory as rolling makes them unsuitable for consulting.

4. *Classification*

The classification of maps is still an unsolved problem for us. When the Krigsarkivet was established in 1805 it was a kind of staff office of the Commander-in-Chief, and the maps and plans collected there were arranged in accordance with the practical claims of daily work. Irrespective of provenance and execution the maps and plans were disposed in agreement with the regional situation. As to classification, even now (1949) the older stock of maps reflects the political situation at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Every country formed a section and this was divided in: general maps, detail maps, road and post maps, maps of rivers and canals, charts, and plans of cities and fortresses. Not the scale but the extension of the region mapped has determined when a map should be placed among general or detail maps. Thus the terms "general" and "detail" maps must not be confused with the terms "geographical" and "topographical" maps.

It would appear from the above that the material has been grouped first according to regions and then according to cartographical character (road maps, nautical charts, town plans, etc.). Of course the reverse order may be conceived: first the maps are arranged in agreement with their special ends, after which the different groups are divided by regions. Modern maps have partly been classified in this way (see below).

It has not been possible to adopt this system of classification until our own days. Besides territorial changes, the modern series of

topographical sheets have compelled the keeper of the collections to find out a new system.

The modern series of printed maps have been placed in the "Modern Collection". The line of demarcation between the modern collection and the older one is not clear. The modern collection follows the regional situation before the Second World War, every European country and several others forming sections, which are divided into "geographical" and topographical" maps, sometimes even into plans, and special maps.

A great number of modern printed charts make a separate collection.

Maps of military operations and so-called "ordres de bataille" have formed special series beside the ones mentioned. The foreign maps are arranged strictly chronologically, while the Swedish ones have been the object of more work and brought together with regard to the strategic continuity of the events reproduced. The latter system is sometimes too complicated.

Finally there are some collections containing only maps in manuscripts and forming parts of the archives of map-producing institutions. It has been decided that these collections should be preserved each in its entirety and should not be divided and merged into the others.

Thus in the classification of maps the regional principle is the leading one. From this there are, however, several deviations, partly because of the division into modern and older maps, partly because modern charts are kept together, and partly because a few collections are kept apart on account of their origin. Every exception from an altogether regional classification, however, intensifies the need for good indexes.

4b. *Cataloguing*

For cataloguing ledgers are employed for the most part. The older lists contain the following data of the map: identification symbol, title, number of copies, author, place and year of publication, and execution (whether printed or drawn). As regards drawn maps of which there are several copies, possible divergences between them are also recorded. Attempt has been made to complete the information in the lists of the Swedish maps by noting, among other things, their former symbols, scales, short descriptions of their contents, and more descriptive title indicating the extent of the territory mapped more exactly than the original title to be found on the map.

Such a detailed catalogue, however, requires much work. As there are still quite a large number of wholly unlisted maps, it has been necessary to let the matter rest. It is intended to produce summary lists of all the maps in the Krigsarkivet which can be employed as inventories and as a means of help to researchers who having obtained a survey of the material through them, may themselves try to find their way to the particular objects desired.

The catalogues of the modern printed maps, both foreign and Swedish, consisting for the most part of the official series of the respective countries, do not contain information about their authors, publishers or places of publication, but each sheet of the series receives a line where the number and name and year of publication are stated. Room is left for sheets still missing. As a rule, every new series begins on a new page. Loose leaf registers are used so that the lists may easily be completed when new series are added.

4c. *Indexing*

The greater and the more varied the material becomes, the more it becomes necessary to have good indexes besides the inventories. Even when the collections are divided strictly regionally there still exists some need for indexes, since there is always map material which can be included in several different groups and therefore difficult to find without indexes with proper cross-references. The work of indexing has not advanced very far in the Krigsarkivet. For the military maps, mentioned above, which are arranged chronologically, there are, however, geographical name indexes. Besides an index has been begun embracing collections in which maps are seldom searched for in the first place. It is intended that maps found in the archives and manuscript collections which do not belong to the map section should be included in this index.

The index which is combined with an inventory is brought about by means of Agrippa visible records in book form or something similar (*figure no. 2*). This is an expensive outfit, but the bulk of the expenditure is to be incurred only once, that is at the time of buying the equipment.

For a "geographical index" the Agrippa system is used in the following way. The maps are registered on cards, one card for each map. On the top of the card the symbol of the map is noted (collection, number, and the like). Then there follow data about its title, author and whatever other information is judged to be important

enough to be included. The two sides of the cards provide ample room for this purpose. On the line—the one visible after the card has been put into the Agrippa ledger—the extent of the territory is stated according to a pre-determined system. The cards are written with two, three or more copies according to the number of the registers desired to be made. One of the copies is allotted to the geographical index. This is arranged in the Agrippa ledgers for visible records, in which the leaves are kept in a staggered fashion, covering each other so that only the lowest line of each card is visible. Cards representing the same territory are brought together and arranged most suitably in chronological order, and in such cases the year of imprint of the map is also noted on the visible line of the card.

The inventory of a particular collection is made by grouping together the card copies having the same symbol on the uppermost line. These are not placed in the Agrippa ledgers for visible records, but piled on each other in transfer binders (*figure no. 3*).

Another copy may be used as a "personal register". The names of the map-drawers are underlined and the slips are arranged alphabetically by the underlined names and piled up on each other as in the inventory.

The geographically arranged register probably is the one most often employed. Therefore better paper should be used for the copy of the cards for this register than is used for the others. The lowest line of the cards is reserved for indicating the territorial extent.

This system has the advantages of a simple card system (with cards in boxes), i.e. the possibility of completing and, if needed, rearranging the collections. At the same time it can be read just as a book which is an advantage with frequently consulted registers like the geographical register. In an ordinary card register it is not possible to see if any card is missing, which is, on the other hand, easy to check in the Agrippa visible records in book form. The backs of the slips afford much wider room for notes than bound catalogues usually do.

5. *Repair and mounting*

Maps needing repair are cleaned and mended with rice-paper. Sometimes the maps are mounted on cloth. Details about repairing methods cannot be described in this short note. We refer to C. E. Le Gear: *Maps, Their Care, Repair and Preservation in Libraries* (Washington, Library of Congress, 1949).

There are two methods of mounting in use, one rather expensive but very good for precious pieces, and another cheap but sometimes

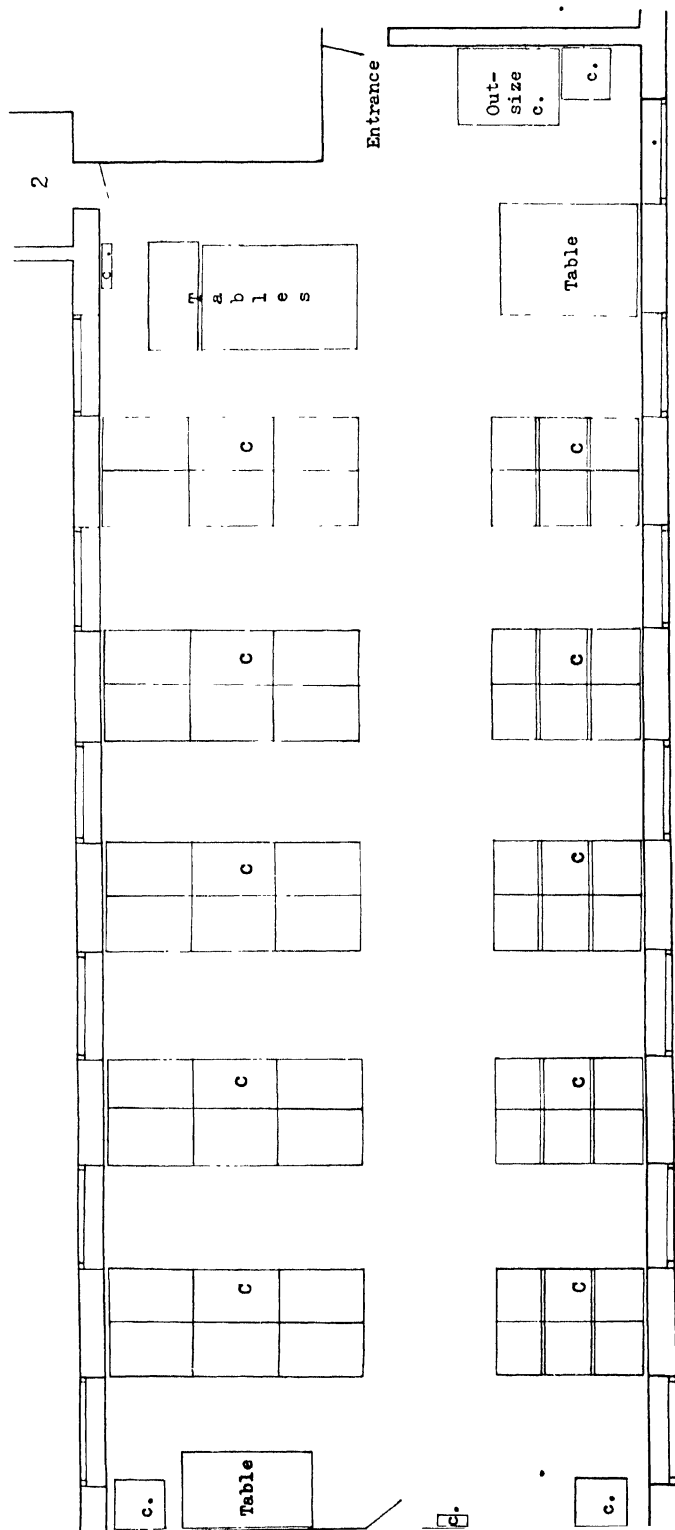


Fig. 1: Map depository and map reading room in Krigsarkivet.

l = room for geographical and cartographical literature.
 2 = room for clerk
 c = case

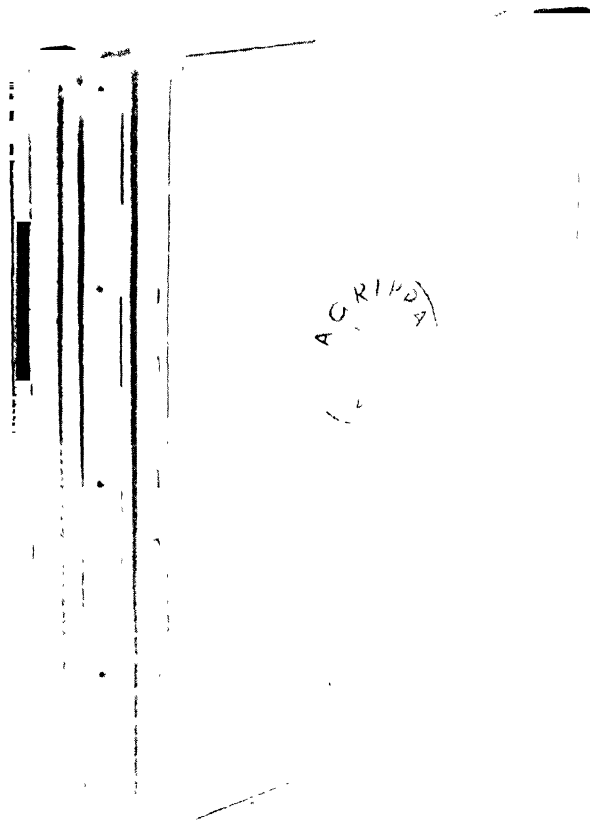


Fig. 2 : Agrippa Ledger for Visible Records.



*Fig. 3 : Agrippa Transfer Binder
with Index.*

*By courtesy of the Office Equipment
Company of India, Bombay.*

not giving the protection desired. In the former case the map is laid in a cover made of linen-rag paper and fastened along one side. All covers have the same size as described under "storage". In the latter case a square is cut out of a sheet of a thinner and cheaper stuff; the map is fastened along the four sides of the hole and is thus framed by paper. Thereby it becomes possible to study both the front and the back of the map and to put it on the light-table. The edges of the maps are protected and all maps are of the same size. Sometimes the method is used even for maps which are folded. Only one side of the folded map is then fastened to the paper frame.

6. *Service*

There is no special map-reading room for visitors. As long as the catalogues and indexes are not complete or not useful for other reasons researchers must be let into the repository. The equipment is rather simple: two tables 2 m. by 2.5 m. and two smaller tables about 15 cm higher than an ordinary one. The top of each of the latter is twice as large as the ordinary map packets. These tables are provided with wheels and are easy to move to where they are most needed. For the rest the equipment consists of some handy carriages and a light-table. There is a dark room for photography, but it is not yet fully equipped.

THE CENTRAL RECORDS OFFICE HYDERABAD STATE

M. NASIRUDDIN KHAN

Central Records Office, Hyderabad-Deccan

THE Central Records Office of Hyderabad State is at present very appropriately housed in a portion of a building which is a replica of the London Record Office known as Somerset House. This stately building is situated on an elevation commanding extensive views all around. It stands by itself and has no other building in its vicinity.

The Records Office contains records of various departments beginning with documents in Persian numbering approximately twenty million and files transferred to the custody of the Records Office up to now numbering about three hundred thousand. It is already decided that files of all Secretariats up to 1900 will be transferred to the safekeeping of the Records Office, which will further add to the volume and the importance of the Records Office in the immediate future.

The Persian documents in the State archives date back to the 17th century and pertain to the reigns of Moghul Emperors. They deal with a variety of subjects of civil and military administration in the Deccan, including the provinces of Aurangabad, the Berars, Bijapur, Burhanpur, Hyderabad and Bidar. Among these, documents of the Asafia period are more numerous and continuous. They were formerly looked after by certain families of Hyderabad which received substantial grants of jagirs and cash for the maintenance of the records. But as it usually happens, a decentralized administration of records is not conducive to their proper safeguard or administration, and the experience of years forced the Government to assume direct charge of these records to facilitate their safekeeping and maintenance for the future, as they were not only important for the requirements of general administration but were also valuable for purposes of historical research.

The records of the Daftar-e-Diwani were taken over by the Government in 1893, the Daftar-e-Istifa in 1905 and later Moghul papers in 1916, the Daftar-e-Mal with the Daftar-e-Khitabat and the Daftar-e-Mawahir in 1925, the Daftar-e-Mulki in 1929, the Daftar-e-Darul Insha and the Daftar-e-Bakshigiri in 1938, the Daftar-e-

Munshikhana in 1939, the *Daftar-e-Qanungo* in 1940, the *Daftar-e-Peshkari* in 1942 and the *daftar* of the Rajas of Shorapur in 1948. Subsequent to these, records of the Political Secretariat, the Army Secretariat, the Ecclesiastical Department, Sadarat-ul-Alia, the Army (Irregular) Directorate, the Chief Secretariat, the Government Central Treasury, and the Revenue Secretariat have been transferred to the Central Records Office from time to time.

Among these Persian *daftars*, two were the main offices of the General Administration in the Deccan. The first is the *Daftar-e-Diwani* which was entrusted with Civil and Military administration of the provinces of Aurangabad, the Berars, Bijapur and Burhanpur, and contains 2,018,138 documents and papers in bundles, classified in accordance with the practice of the government of the time. The second, the *Daftar-e-Mal* dealt with the provinces of Hyderabad and Bidar and contains 4,982,984 documents and papers in bundles, classified under various heads according to the nomenclature of the time. These two *daftars* exercised supervision over all such matters as related to finance, revenue, settlement, police, accounts, judiciary, coinage, marketing, grants of cash and lands, army, appointments, postings, dismissals and transfers of government personnel, news-letters, court-bulletins, treaties, in short, all state business under the immediate command of the rulers. These *daftars* formed the pivot of the administration and, in consonance with the principles of administration of the time, had the supplementary aid of a number of other *daftars*, which were subsidiary to them and were established for specific purposes. For instance, the special function of the *Daftar-e-Istifa* was to prepare and maintain duplicates of the orders issued through the main *daftars* and make official entries of the original fair copies granted to persons concerned. The *Daftar-e-Darul-Insha* made fair copies of *farmans* and orders on which the royal seal and the sign manual were affixed. In different Asafia reigns, the *Daftar-e-Peshkari*, the *Daftar-e-Mulki* and the *Daftar-e-Munshikhana* served as a *Daftar-e-Darul-Insha* of the time. A *daftar* called the *Daftar-e-Manssib-o-Khitabat* maintained records of titles, honours, and ranks conferred on distinguished and notable personages from time to time. The *Daftar-e-Qanungo* served as a settlement office in the old administration and was concerned with the maintenance of records and documents relating to the boundaries of villages, of lands arable or fallow within the villages showing also woods, wells, hills, rivers, streams, etc. The *Daftar-e-Mawahir* controlled making of the royal seal, the seal of the realm and also seals for all government

offices, title holders, Begums of the royal house-holds, British Residents, nobles, jagirdars, mansabdars, etc.

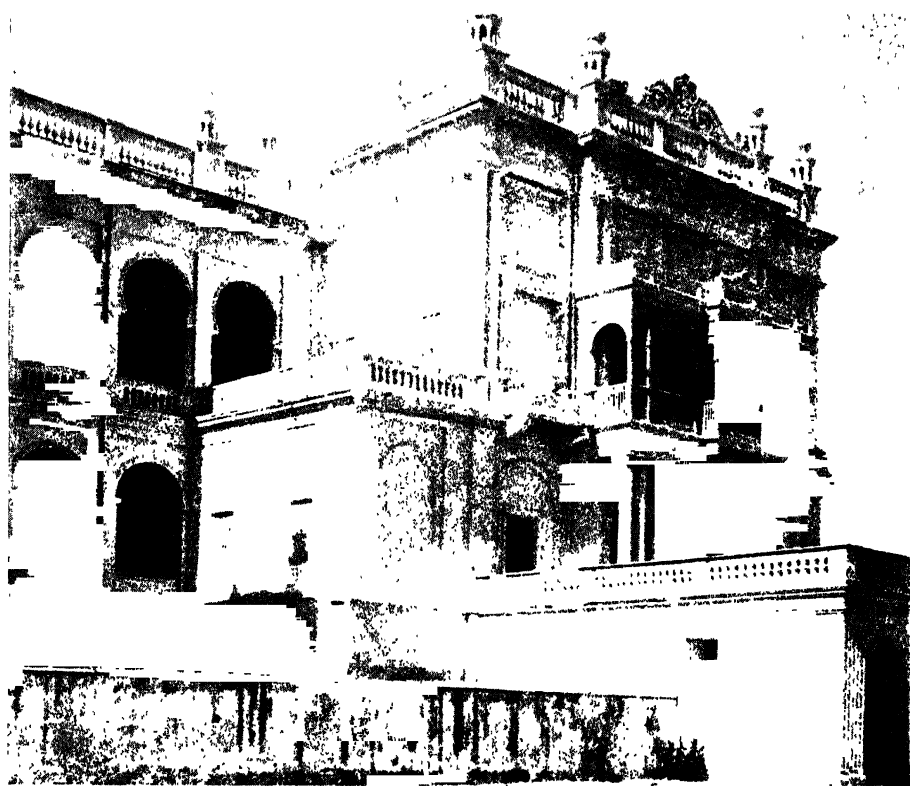
The Daftar-e-Diwani and Mal and all its subsidiary offices continued to perform their assigned functions up to the end of the reign of the fourth Nizam when Sir Salar Jang was the Prime Minister. During this time the administrative system underwent a change owing to closer contact with the British administration in India. The executive functions of the Government gradually devolved on various secretariats and departments which Sir Salar Jang was instrumental in establishing in the state. For the proper administration and maintenance of records and the progressive development the Government assumed, in course of time, direct control over these *daftars* and placed them under the Finance portfolio.

In consequence of this development the above mentioned *daftars* ceased to exercise their executive control but retained their functions in respect of the verification of the grants of *jagir*, *inams*, *mansabs*, etc., as usual.

From the above description it is clear that these archives and records are of immense value generally to the student of history but more particularly to the student of the Deccan history as no other true and reliable source of information exists outside these *daftars*. With this fact in view, the Hyderabad Government have, for the promotion of the original research, thrown open these records up to 1900 to the public and have framed special rules regulating their access to scholars for *bona fide* historical research. At the same time, these valuable documents have been and are being properly catalogued and arranged, with a view to making them accessible for ready reference and study to scholars, and a number of selected documents are being edited and published as original source books of history for higher studies.

Most of the old Persian documents are written in *shikista* without any diacritical marks and are ordinarily very difficult to decipher. There are some interesting Marathi documents also in these *daftars* which throw light on the inter-relation of the Nizams and the Marathas and a selection is being made from among them with a view to their publication in the near future.

For the safekeeping of the records and their mending where necessary, services of a mender were borrowed from the Imperial Record Department (now known as the National Archives of India), New Delhi. This expert during his stay in Hyderabad has trained certain personnel of the State Records Office. But unfortunately owing



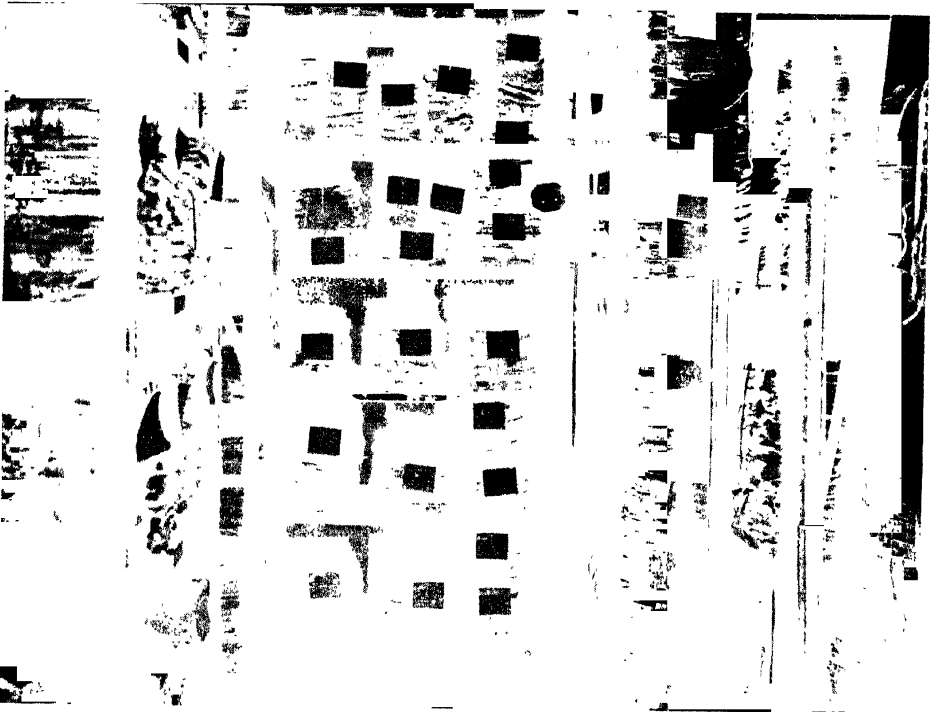
Central Records Office, Hyderabad-Deccan, North-Eastern Wing



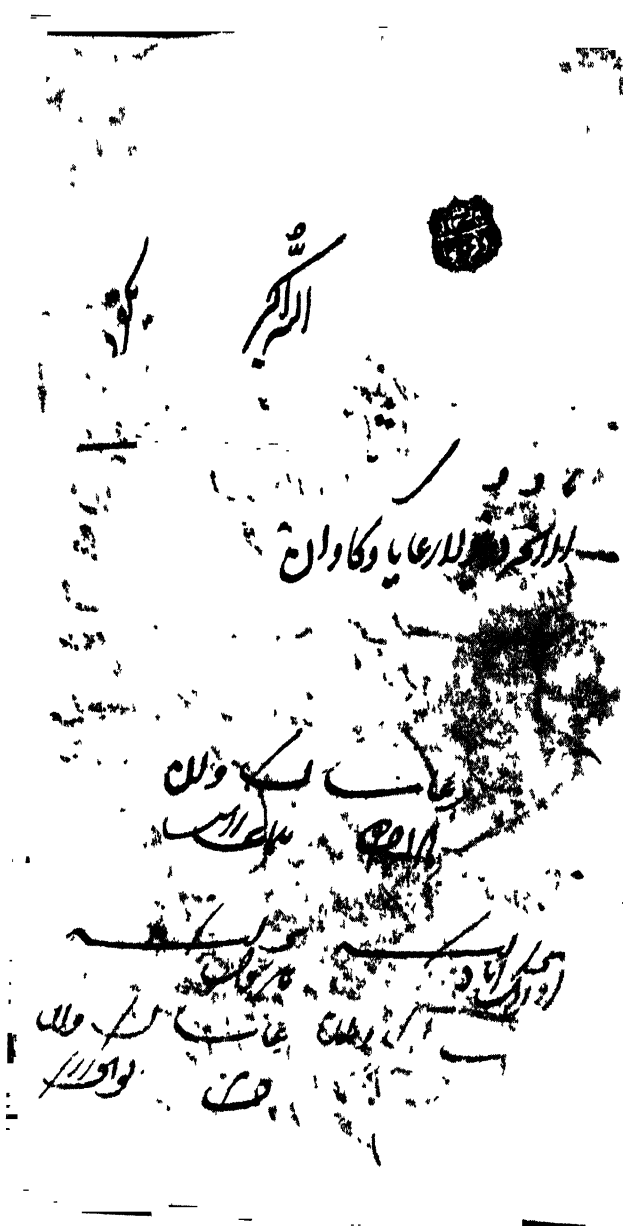
A section of the Library and Reading Room



A view of the Muniment Room



Another view of the Muniment Room



Memorandum on enumeration of people and cattle
of the *parganas* of Aurangabad in Shah Jahan's
reign. I. R. No 416

A letter dated 31 December, 1782 from Nana Farnavis inviting Dhondaji Shankar to attend the wedding of Peshwa Madhav Rao II—A. R. No. 1388

A document dated 1207 A.H. (1792 A.D.) relating to the payment made towards arrears of the French troops under Raymond, bearing his signature—*A. R. No. 4629.*

مردی

دیهات

در باره ای سابق فرموده شده بود که موقعی با هیئت خود
 سر که صوبای محمد انا که کما که صبی الدین و نه بهار میسر است
 مردم کی منظور است که به بهار مذکور ساله عوده دیهات
 مذکور در بحواله کی طایفه فرما شتم بعد از سوال بر سر
 مذکور شده و آن فرستاده شد مآخذ که به بهار مذکور
 به واسطه دارد سوال دیهات مرقوم تمام محل کو به مآخذ

An autograph letter of Nizam Ali Khan addressed to Arastu Jah, the Prime Minister, regarding the transfer of *jagir* of Safi-ud-daula to a Begum of the royal household—A. R. No. 4879.

to financial stringency this branch could not reach its full development although requirements of the department are growing with the quantity of records and they are great and urgent at present. The State Records Office is closely in touch with the National Archives of India and has the benefit of its advice and assistance. But in order to develop on satisfactory basis, more funds are required than are at the disposal of the State Records Office at present. In course of time it is hoped that the Government will extend more liberal grants to bring the State Records Office on up-to-date lines, especially for the scientific housing of the records, their preservation, repair and rehabilitation where necessary. Unless the necessary steps are taken, these old documents and records will be completely lost to posterity as they cannot be replaced in any way.

The Records Office maintains a good-sized reference library which includes some rare and unique Persian manuscripts, a number of maps, dictionaries, books on procedure of old administration, etc. The Government has recently enhanced the budget allotment for the purchase of books which will add to the usefulness of the collection.

The present organization of the Records Office is supervised over by a Director, assisted by four gazetted officers, and has an establishment of 71. With the ever increasing quantity of records after their centralization more specialized and scientific administration of the records has to be maintained by the Records Office personnel who in time gain a unique knowledge of the make-up and contents of the records in their custody.

'THE NATIONAL GALLERY IN WAR-TIME'

F. IAN G. RAWLINS

The National Gallery, London

IT IS ONE OF THE NECESSARY SORROWS of war that scientific workers are bound, for the most part, to apply their knowledge and skill for the time being to the work of destruction. It is also true, as is already obvious, that some good comes out of evil, but the primary aim is, and must be, to destroy. Naturally, there are heroic efforts to mend and to repair, perhaps even to restore: yet they are hard pressed to keep pace with the forces of obliteration. In this article, however, we are contemplating a happier theme, in which applied physics and kindred branches of technics have been harnessed deliberately and specifically to a project of conservation. Consideration of some such scheme is usually simplified a little by financial reasoning—the relative value of the things to be kept safe and the cost of doing so. But with the nation's heritage of pictures, in some respects the most precious and representative in the world, these terms become largely meaningless. It is the bare fact of irreplaceability which dominates thought. Loss or serious damage admits of no compensation. If science can help in this great quest for security, it will have shown that even in war its part is not wholly to undo. To save for posterity becomes an overwhelming urge.

Well before the outbreak of hostilities, the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery had approved plans for evacuation from the great building in Trafalgar Square, London. These were, in fact, implemented and the bulk of the collection was hundreds of miles away from London immediately before September 3, 1939. The programme of removal had been accomplished in ten days, in accordance with schedule.² A tolerable exile had been arranged in various houses and halls.³ So far so good. Risks were reasonably spread. Administration

¹ Reprinted by kind permission from the *Nature* of 30 January 1943.

The information given in the footnotes is taken from 'The War-time Storage in Wales of Pictures from the National Gallery, London', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1946.

² The first container left Trafalgar Square on the afternoon of 23 August 1939 and the last on 2 September, a few hours before the declaration of war.

³ At the outbreak of war two centres in Wales—Aberystwyth and Bangor—were chosen. At the former place the Librarian of the National Library of Wales placed a considerable floor space at the disposal of the National Gallery and at Bangor depots were established in Prichard-Jones Hall of the University College of Wales and Penrhyn Castle. In mid-1940, with the fall of France, danger from aerial attacks increased

and invigilation functioned duly. But was all this sufficient? Indiscriminate bombing all over Great Britain set in. Nowhere above ground was safe in the special sense applicable to unique and irreplaceable objects. Even the fire-risk assumed new proportions in some respects. Thus, inevitably, the question was raised whether deep shelter could not be found, and if it could, what new hazards and imponderables it would introduce. Here indeed was a task for science, to shoulder its full measure of responsibility. In the sequel, some indication may be seen of the course of events. Meanwhile, all the refuges above ground had fulfilled their purpose, providing safe shelter unimpaired until their supersession.

A Deep Shelter Policy

In a matter of days, as it turned out, the Gallery was committed in principle to seek a subterranean home. The prime need was to find it. Mines, quarries, tunnels, caves, even deep defiles capable of being artificially roofed and reinforced were visited and discussed. Seldom must such a search have been started, and more rarely still could one have been more disappointing in its opening stages. Site after site was rejected on grounds such as those of possible flooding, presence of noxious vapours, insecure roofs, difficult access, probability of becoming a target later on for indirect reasons, and so forth. Up to the time of writing (January 1943), two of these locations are definitely known to have experienced incidents which, had they happened when in use as repositories, would have constituted in one case a major disaster, and in the other a potential threat too grave to have been disregarded. These facts are mentioned to demonstrate that sanctuary was not to be had merely for the asking.

Six precious weeks went by with nothing to show for them but negation. Then, almost by chance, the outlook changed. A site offering sufficient space to house the whole collection, and possessing between 200 ft. and 300 ft. of rock cover, appeared.⁴ The access was not easy, and it was obvious at once that fairly heavy works would be needed to make it suitable for the purpose. Nevertheless, it was possible. The natural temperature within was 47°F. and the relative

in West and North-West Wales also and with a view to distribute risks the pictures were dispersed among some other centres, namely Eagle Tower at Caernarvon, Mr. O. C. Robert's house at Bontnewydd (3 miles south of Caernarvon) and Lord Lisburne's house at Crosswood (9 miles from Aberystwyth).

⁴ The place chosen was a slate quarry in the Snowdon range of North Wales near Festiniog, some 1750 feet above sea level,

humidity 95-100 per cent. Tradition locally had it that the temperature was unchanged throughout the year. No data in support of this were extant, and there was no time to begin extended observations. Instruments were put in position for a week as a rough guide. The temperature remained at 47°-48°F. and the relative humidity at a point approaching saturation. There was no alternative but to accept these figures as characteristic. A good record for freedom from falls of roof was produced (for this particular type of workings), and the risk of flooding could be taken as negligible. There were no noxious vapours, and the material present in bulk was chemically inert. There were other features too, not shared by most places of the kind, of a favourable nature. Beyond these broad considerations, nothing could be said with certainty. In addition to the increasing danger to the pictures in their quarters above ground, it became necessary for special reasons to make an immediate decision to accept or reject this place. In any event, some six to twelve months would elapse before it could be ready for occupation.

Within a matter of days, the Trustees, the Treasury and the Office of Works (now the Ministry of Works and Planning) had agreed to accept and to go ahead. It amounted almost to a venture of faith. The National Gallery thus became possessed of a repository offering cover against aerial attack to a degree approaching impregnability. Nothing but an earthquake could harm the contents mechanically. At the same time, due to the high relative humidity, ruin within a month might be expected for the pictures if this was not dealt with, and restrained, during the whole period of occupation. Furthermore, access was physically impossible for a large percentage of the collection. Thus, to begin with, matters were not easy. But the decision was clear-cut. The protective cover was ample, and the capacity for storage adequate. All the other troubles must in consequence be overcome.

Reviewing the situation at the present time, with the great collection safely housed, it may be stated that no major disadvantage was overlooked in that rapid decision. It was thought to be feasible to accomplish the task, and so in the event it has proved. Naturally, this is far from implying that there is little more to do. Life there, in some respects, resembles that of the crew of a ship at sea. Constant watch and ward was never more essential. There is much machinery, and full provision for emergencies. The pictures themselves need thorough-going inspection at frequent intervals, if one is to be reasonably certain that all is well. Sometimes they need treatment, and this has been provided for. Temperatures, relative humidity, ventilation, electrical

gear, the stability of the fabric, the workings themselves, all require ceaseless attention if accidents are to be avoided to within the limits of human fallibility. There is plenty of the unknown in this great bid for safety. From the beginning, the main responsibility for the safe-keeping and administration of the National Collection in exile has rested upon Mr. Martin Davies, to whom also is due much of the planning of its underground home.

In the next section, the arrangement of the repository and the apparatus installed will be described in some detail. Where information is lacking, the explanation is probably that data on that particular matter exist, but must be withheld at present for security reasons. When the time is appropriate more can doubtless be said.

The Underground Repository

The decision to place the great national collection below ground having been taken, the work of making the site suitable for the purpose devolved upon the (present) Ministry of Works and Planning. At this point a tribute of appreciation to the officers and staff of that department may be gratefully made, both for what has been done and for the way in which they have striven to meet the special requirements and ideas of the National Gallery. With a project so novel, it was only to be expected that some set-backs would occur; the isolated position and the season of the year in which operations began both had their share in making progress exceptionally difficult and arduous. When the full story of this aspect can be told in detail, it will probably be admitted that the period of preparation, though somewhat longer than anticipated, was not excessive. The managing director of the company working the site did all in his power to help in every way. The site was first seen on September 17, 1940. Four days later the decision to accept it was taken. Blasting operations started a few weeks later, and most of the buildings were ready for drying-out (but not for occupation) in May, 1941. By August, 1941, all essential engineering services had been completed and the buildings were ready to receive the pictures. The move in began on August 12, 1941.

The nature of the underground workings was such that the only reasonable way of securing proper temperature and humidity conditions (as well as due invigilation) was to erect separate buildings underground, and to 'condition' them individually. (By 'condition' is not meant full air-conditioning, as technically understood, but bringing physical conditions within each building to a state satisfac-

tory for the contents, by the comparatively simple means to be described later.)

These buildings were designed to have no mechanical strength; they are simply 'envelopes' on a large scale. Of light brick construction and the inner walls and ceilings covered with wall-board, the floors are concrete, and the roofs are of fabricated material (treated with ruberoid) on top of which rests a wiremesh mattress. The function of this is to distribute the weight, should any *small* fragments of rock fall from above. No provision is made against *heavy* falls of rock. This matter is one for constant expert vigilance on its own account, and upon it complete reliance has always been placed. Steps have been taken to ensure that all aspects of this possible hazard are kept under close review.

A question to be decided at the outset, which had a direct bearing upon lay-out, was the amount of wall-space needed, regarded particularly as a function of height. The guiding principle was that, in general, stacking of pictures was to be avoided. All were to be accessible for ready inspection. In this way, the problem was one of two dimensions rather than of three. The demand for height was such that ten feet would suffice for the great bulk of the collection, with fifteen feet for a small percentage of the total. In fine, this meant six buildings, five giving a headroom of 10 ft. inside, and one with a 15 ft. clearance.

These needs made somewhat rigorous demands upon the placing of the buildings, if maximum accommodation was to be secured. Thus, they vary considerably in shape and size. All except one are on a common level; the exception is approached by an easy flight of steps, and is reserved for pictures capable of being safely carried up by hand. Fortunately, there are many of a size suitable for this. The question was discussed at the outset whether any real advantage would be gained by having two-story chambers, where the natural height available permitted. This was answered negatively, both on the score of time and expense of making such buildings, and of the difficulty and dangers of taking pictures to and from the upper floor by stairs, lifts or cranes.

It may be mentioned here that the 15-ft. chamber already alluded to was designed to serve a double purpose. Its first duty was to act as the receiving and unpacking station. The vehicles containing the pictures, when they arrived, drove down a tunnel some 200 yds. in length, into this building, which is large enough to allow of turning and is provided with a suitable unloading dock and ramp. In fact,

this building was planned in close co-operation with the railway companies who undertook the task of transport. The second purpose of the building was to house the largest pictures, and to act in some measure as an inspection shop for all the large works. Thus, all unpacking took place in 'conditioned' surroundings. The overall size is solely governed by the amount of space available, but the inside dimensions were most carefully considered in the light of general experience in moving, storing, and inspecting pictures. A fair amount of room is needed for carrying turning and so forth: to cramp this unduly would be to risk accidents. Almost every building is provided with a small work-room where such operations as laying blisters can be carried out. By these means it is rare that a picture has to leave its conditioned surroundings for treatment.

The plant-room contains the heating and ventilating machinery required for each building. One such plant-room and equipment suffices for each, except in two instances where shape and capacity necessitated the provision of two such plant-rooms.

The guiding principle in regard to the major problem of 'conditioning'—in the limited sense already explained—has been to make each building a separate self-contained unit which can be controlled individually as desired, so far as temperature and relative humidity are concerned. The advantages of this were found in the early stages of occupation, when the storages were gradually filling up with pictures (after a suitable period of thorough drying-out, expedited by the use of refrigerating plant). Due to the concentration of so much hygroscopic material (wood and canvas), it is easier to obtain stable conditions when a building is full than when it is empty. In addition, certain other categories of valuable material are present, which need a physical environment of a slightly different kind. Again, when material first arrives, it can be gradually acclimatized to its new surroundings by the appropriate regulation of temperature in a certain building.

When the site was first explored, it had three factors of value from the physical and engineering aspects. These were: (1) a constant temperature so low as 47°F. inside the workings, as already mentioned; (2) easy access to electric power; (3) water, sufficient for engine cooling. In view of (1), it was considered that a satisfactory relative humidity in the buildings could be obtained by temperature-control alone, that is, there would be no need for a permanent de-humidifying plant. This relative humidity was provisionally fixed at 55-60 per cent at 62°F. It should be maintained constant to within 3 per cent. This is a

narrow tolerance. The point is that once a relative humidity between 55 and 60 per cent—say 58 per cent—has been set up within a building fully occupied with pictures, then it is undesirable that fluctuations should lead to higher values than 61 per cent or lower values than 55 per cent. Owing to the impossibility of forecasting exactly what would happen with such an indefinite 'population' as a combination of panels and canvases, it was agreed to proceed on this basis. To anticipate for the moment: experience of a full year's working has shown that the plant gives, as an example, a relative humidity of 57 per cent at 61°F., with a variation in the former of less than 2 per cent over a period of many months. In general, the temperatures in the various buildings are some 2°-3°F. higher than anticipated, if the correct relative humidity is to be obtained. Of the two factors, relative humidity is decidedly the more important. The reason for this slight temperature excess, and an indication of the methods to be adopted to reduce it, will be considered later. The question of the influence of temperature upon mould growth has also been taken into account.

As already mentioned, each building has its own plant room or rooms containing the necessary fans for air distribution, heating batteries, dampers and automatic controls, the plant varying in output according to the requirements of each building. The essential equipment consists, in each plant, of an electrically driven fan drawing air through a suitable filter, delivering it over a heater battery into a simple plenum in the chambers.

Warm air is distributed as evenly as possible through ductwork having low-velocity outlets, and is controlled by louvre and slide-type dampers. Provision is made for partial or total re-circulation of the warmed air, and the proportion of fresh air introduced can be controlled. The unusually stable temperature conditions outside the buildings make thermostatic control as ordinarily understood unnecessary. Overriding high-temperature protection is provided and remote warning of a rise or fall in temperature exceeding 2°F. is given.

The only variable is that of electricity supply voltage at the terminal of a long and heavily loaded rural system, and this is compensated by hand adjustment of the calibrated louvre dampers, and by switching off sections of the heater batteries. This maintains conditions well within the differential limits of commercial thermostats and without the need for heavy voltage control equipment.

Normally, the system works on almost full recirculation of air, with a change of about four per hour. The operating cycle begins at the plant room, where a very small amount of fresh air at 47°F. and

95 per cent relative humidity is 'bled' into the system through 'intake louvres'. The air passes into the filters, mixing with the recirculated air drawn from the chambers. Then it passes through the fan, across the heating battery, through the duct system and is delivered to the rooms through a series of suitably placed orifices. Then the air is drawn back to the plant room through 'recirculation openings' normally kept open. Excess fresh air drawn in the plant room displaces a part of the stale air through 'evacuation valves' provided for the purpose. When fresh air is being drawn in and filtered there is always a slight outward pressure from the rooms which assists in preventing introduction of any dust from outside.

On occasions, staff is required to work inside the rooms and then the air can be freshened by opening fully the fresh air intake louvres, and closing the 'recirculation louvres'. Air escapes through the evacuation valves. For a given heat input, the temperature then tends to fall, and if the blow through is of long duration, the heat input must be increased.

The advantages of almost complete recirculation are a reduced power consumption for heating, and less heat loss to parts of the workings outside the buildings where the natural ventilation is sluggish.

There has been experience of local temperature rise to 52°-53°F. from 47°F. with decrease in thermodynamic efficiency, and to overcome the consequent rise of relative humidity in the rooms while maintaining temperature, it has been necessary to use calcium chloride as a pre-drying agent for fresh air entering certain plant rooms, and to install powerful fans to draw on the vast volume of air at 47°F. in other parts of the workings. At the worst, in one part, a maximum temperature of 66°F. has been necessary to maintain 58 per cent relative humidity. Energetic measures are being taken to introduce cool air to this locality, and shortly it is expected that it will be reduced to uniformity with the rest of the system.

The flexibility of the whole system is important. Certain valuable material needs individual treatment, and conditions in a building or part of a building can be readily adjusted without any widespread disturbance of conditions.

Throughout, it must be remembered that fungus and moulds constitute a formidable danger to pictures. Research shows that at such a modest figure as 68 per cent relative humidity, especially at temperatures of above 70°F., trouble may occur. Free circulation of air is an effective counter weapon. This is amply provided for in each

building. A number of trial canvases and panels have been placed in various parts of the workings—outside the storage chambers—to observe what happens to them in air at around 47°F. and approximately saturated. Moulds were observed well within a month and, in one case, in eighteen days. Constant vigil is kept, not only on the pictures, but also on all incidental woodwork and fabric. Routine inspection is undertaken at short intervals.

The recording instruments in use are simple but essential. In every building there is a hygrometer of the type shown in the illustration (Fig. 5). These consist of a standard double-pen disc type mercury-in-steel temperature recorder, adapted to work with an aspirating system composed of a couple of asbestos fibre tubes through which air is drawn by a small fan and motor. In one tube is the wet bulb, and in the other the dry. From the former, a suitable wick dips into a trough of distilled water. (The air-flow is at approximately the same rate as that generated by a psychrometer or whirling hygrometer.) From standard tables, and from the reading of the wet-and-dry-bulb temperatures, the relative humidity in the chamber is known at any moment. Calibration with a psychrometer, as a check, is carried out at frequent intervals. These composite hygrometers have been found most satisfactory: a little difficulty was experienced initially in getting the exceptionally large amount of wick to saturate evenly and continuously, but this has been overcome. If the plants are stopped down for a couple of minutes, a decided kink is observed on the charts, thus giving confidence in rapid reaction.

Thermometers are placed at every recirculation louver throughout the buildings, so that engineering staff can read them from the plant rooms on their patrols. A series of 'standard temperatures' have been worked out empirically, corresponding to the desired conditions within.

Outside the chambers, at various points in the workings, temperatures are recorded daily, to make sure that the ventilation remains satisfactory.

The possibility of electric power breakdowns and failures has been most carefully considered. On this account a 140 h.p. low-speed Diesel-alternator, capable of taking the whole load of motors, fans, heaters, lights and accessories, has been installed. Due to the isolated situation and the severity of local conditions, calls upon the emergency plant are not uncommon. Before the pictures were moved in, a stringent test was made, the generating plant maintaining the whole load continuously for a week. This was thought necessary in view of

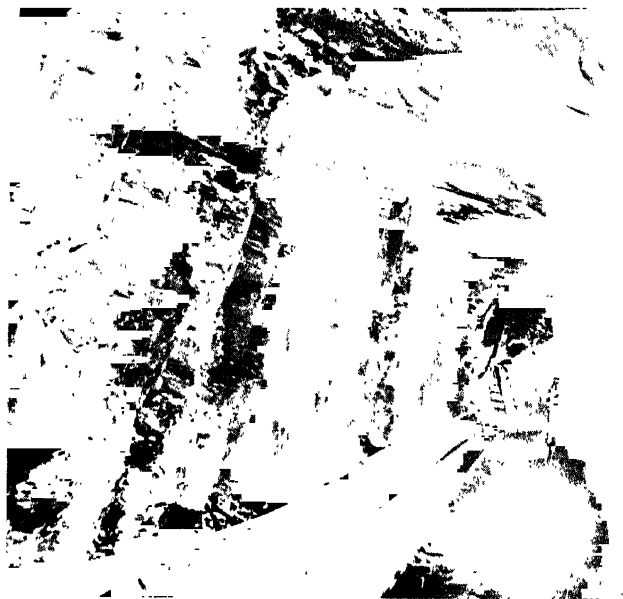


Fig. 1: The main underground approach level. This was originally of cross section 6 ft. \times 6 ft. and was enlarged to 13 ft. 6 in. high and 10 ft. wide.

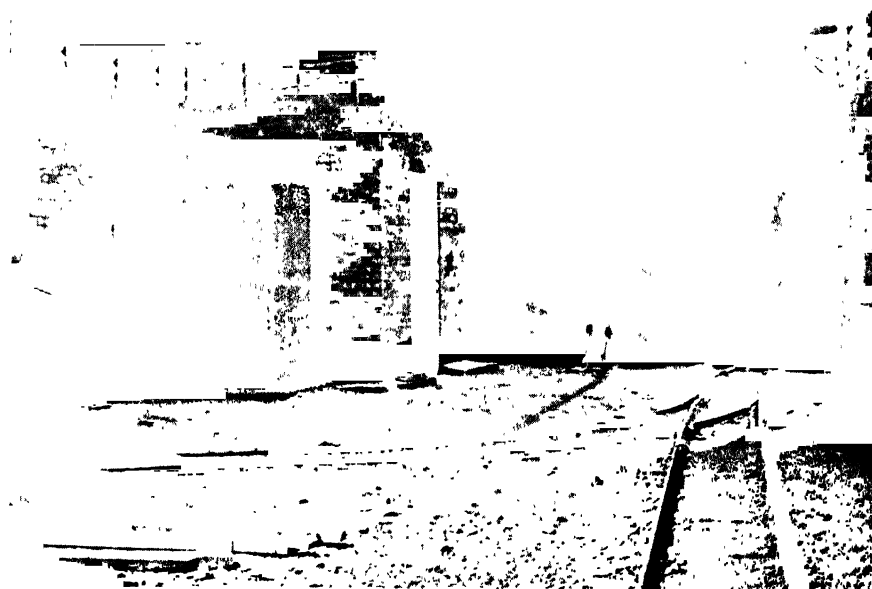


Fig. 2: A typical plant room and part of storage building



Fig. 3: Part of storage chamber before occupation, showing stack of screens (left) ready to be fixed between the uprights in the centre.



Fig. 4: Inside one of the storage buildings, showing part of an aisle, with pictures in position. The height is 10 feet from floor to ceiling.

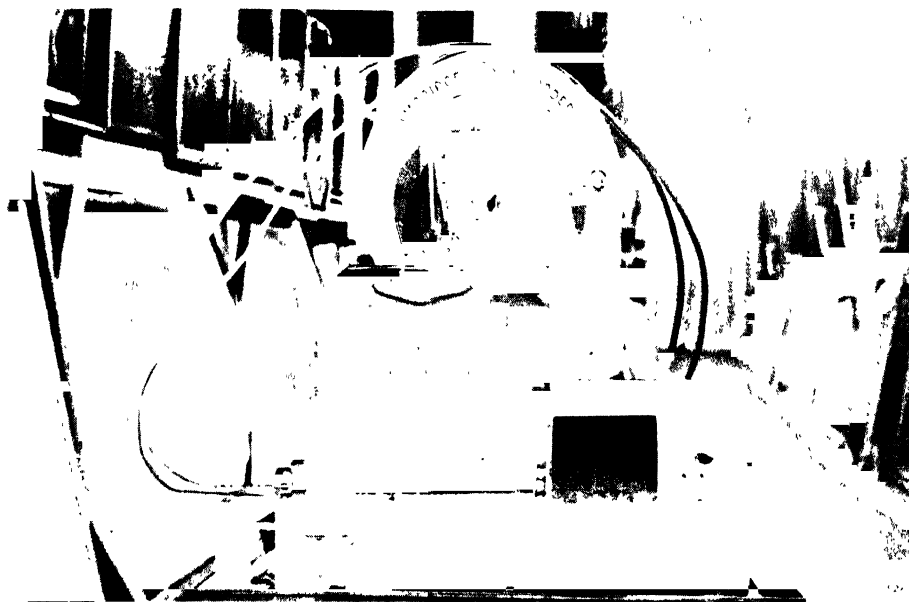


Fig. 5 : Hygrometer consisting of disc-type temperature recorder and aspirating system.

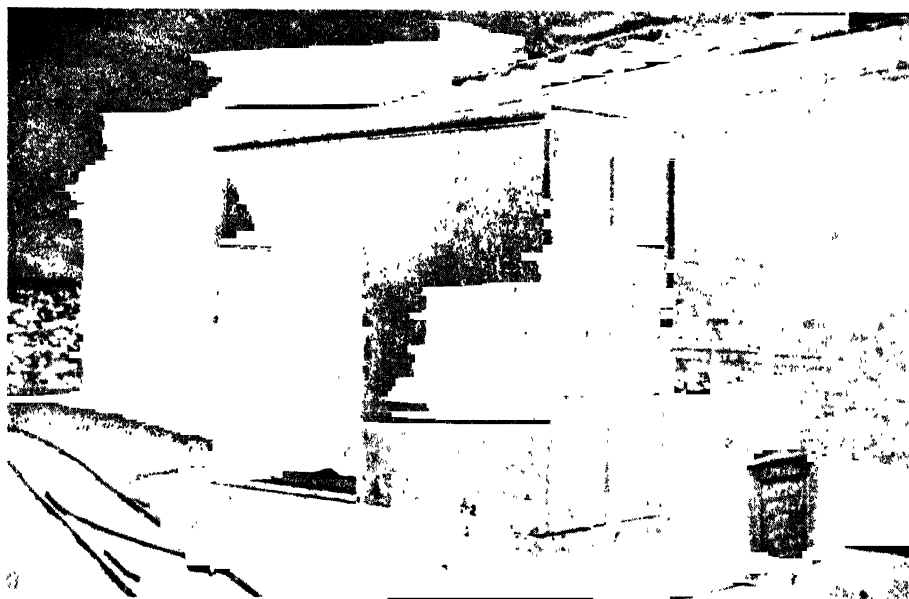


Fig. 6 : Closed trolley (one of the four side-doors removed) for conveyance of pictures between various storage buildings.

the reliance placed upon electric power to keep the relative humidity in the buildings from rising (within a matter of a few hours) to dangerous limits. Fortunately, circumstances are such that a more rapid deterioration is not to be expected, but there is not a great deal of margin in this respect. Almost equally important is the need for prompt—almost immediate—restoration of lighting after a breakdown. Experience has shown that it is never more than 2-3 minutes before the stand-by plant is running and normal conditions return. The double calamity of a failure of both electricity supply and stand-by plant at the same time has been envisaged, and super-emergency measures designed to mitigate such a situation so far as possible. There is, of course, staff on duty day and night. As mentioned before, an adequate (but not limitless) supply of water, capable of being treated for use in engine cooling, is at hand.

Indications have already been given of the somewhat heavy engineering works involved in this whole project. To conclude this section, some details may be of interest. Initially, the site (for the purpose in view) was practically without access. A new road, entailing some considerable excavations and embankment, was therefore constructed. Within the workings themselves, enlargement of adits and levels necessitated the blasting and removal of some 3,000 tons of rock (including work now in hand for the improvement of ventilation). In addition, a further 2,000 tons were removed by hand-labour from the floors before it was feasible to begin the erection of the storage buildings. In this enterprise a special appreciation must be made of the work of the local company's manager, under whose direct supervision these operations were all carried out. He discharged this task rapidly, and thanks to his knowledge of the local strata, without accident of any kind.

For the necessary transport of pictures and stores (including engineering equipment), the National Gallery needs about a quarter of a mile of underground narrow-gauge railway. The maximum gradient encountered is 1 in 20 for a few yards. Special rolling stock was built for it by one of the mainline railway companies. An example is shown in the illustrations. These trolleys (propelled by hand) have proved invaluable. In fact, it would have been impossible to have 'moved in' without them. Day in, day out, they are in regular use.

Future Problems

Large-scale research is scarcely practicable in a repository such as has been described, especially as the prime motive is that of conserva-

tion of the nation's great collection. Nevertheless, the future is not being left wholly to itself. A sizable body of data relating to temperature, relative humidity, condition and reaction of materials is being assembled, and may well take its place in contributing towards the post-war design of museums and galleries, and to the choice of environment considered best for works of art. It is possible that full air-conditioning of such institutions in large cities and certain other places might be found to be financially desirable, when the sums spent annually in restoration and repair of paintings are critically reviewed. Careful inspection will always be needed, but the experience so far of housing a collection of pictures below ground under controlled conditions, scientifically planned, is decidedly encouraging. It would be a pity if some of this could not be translated into terms appropriate to times of peace. Many great pictures are probably now going through severe hardships and many vicissitudes. Those for which the Trustees of the National Gallery are responsible, however, are at present enjoying a climate of such salubrity that the greatest problem for the future is to foresee how they will react when they leave it.⁵

⁵ The entire collection of about 1800 pictures remained in the underground shelter until 1945. Some weeks before the end of hostilities in Europe, a few pictures were selected for being sent back to Trafalgar Square and on Saturday falling V.E. day about fifty of the best masterpieces were once more on display in the Gallery. By the first week of December 1945 everything had been brought back from Wales.

PHOTOMICROGRAPHY AS A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL TOOL

EVELYN SELTZER EHRLICH

Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University

THE value of the microscope in the investigation of possible imitations or forgeries in printed works and manuscripts has long been recognized. Much of this value has, however, remained potential, for want of a convenient and relatively inexpensive procedure whereby the details of difference revealed by the microscope might be recorded for study and comparison. Such a procedure has recently been developed at Harvard, through the combination of a Leitz Ultropak microscope with a Land Polaroid camera. A brief statement regarding the salient features of this apparatus will be followed by a few examples of its application to specific cases, selected to demonstrate something of the quality and scope of photomicrography as a tool in bibliographical research.

The analytic examination of printed or drawn work on paper, vellum, and similar materials requires a microscope adjusted for use at relatively low powers (10-100 diameters) and for observation in incident light. Magnifications greater than 40 or 50 diameters in incident light require an illuminating system within the tube of the microscope. In addition to possessing these basic requirements, the Leitz Ultropak microscope has the special feature of a split optical system which separates the illuminating rays from the rays of the visual image in the microscope tube. Provision for adjusting the intensity and angle of the microscope illumination makes it possible to reduce greatly the disturbing reflections of light from the glossy surfaces of paper and ink in the microscope image. There are also unusual depth of focus, lack of heat in operation, and sufficient illumination for some types of photography without supplementary light—all important advantages.

The chief deterrent to the development of photomicrography as a bibliographical tool has been the delay in obtaining prints inevitably attendant on the conventional dark-room procedures, and hence the delay in checking results. The Land Polaroid camera successfully meets this difficulty by producing a finished print about a minute after the exposure has been made. Further, use with a microscope was

considered in the design of this camera. Its centre of gravity and its lens are such that it can be used with a microscope without any accessories and without removing its lens. However, an adapter ring on the ocular of the microscope or a pillar stand to support the camera will facilitate operation. The orthochromatic film now available for this camera is fast enough for satisfactory results from the illumination provided by the Ultropak illuminating system, a bulb of 6 amperes and 8 volts. Plate Ia shows the apparatus assembled for use with the camera supported over the microscope by a pillar stand.

For photomicrography the microscope is adjusted with the focus somewhat relaxed. The camera, set for a time exposure and focused at infinity, and with the lens opened to its widest aperture (No. 1), is then placed in position over the microscope so that its optical axis is in alignment with that of the microscope. In the experimental work done, it has been found that an objective of 3.8 power, used in conjunction with a periplan ocular of 10 powers, requires an exposure of 5 seconds and developing time of 75 seconds when the gauge of the microscope illumination is set at 6. As in other photomicrography, with the conventional types of cameras, the illumination remaining constant, the exposure is increased or decreased according to the square of the change in magnification. Some experimenting in co-ordinating the focus, illumination, and exposure is probably necessary before satisfactory results can be achieved at least on the basis of one user's experience—because of the wide differences in the material to be examined. But, once controlled, this technique is capable of making a significant contribution to bibliography. It is hoped that this will be apparent from an inspection of some specific cases, with their illustrations and commentary, which follow hereafter.¹

Case A.

Facsimile leaves inserted to supply missing portions of a printed text are sometimes so skillfully executed as to present serious problems of detection. The media employed include pen-and-ink drawing, lithography and typography. The example shown here was made by pen-lithography. In this technique a tracing in transfer ink is made with a pen from an original page. The tracing is then transferred directly to a lithographic stone which, after preparation for printing,

¹ All examples are drawn from material forming part of the collections of the Harvard College Library or on deposit there.

The author wishes to record her thanks to Ernst Hauser for his assistance in assembling the apparatus, and to William Jackson and William Cottrell for their editorial help and for their assistance with the material used for illustration.

can be used for an almost unlimited number of copies of the pen-and-ink tracing. Such lithographic facsimiles became a favorite medium as the nineteenth century advanced and book collecting grew in popularity and cost.

Plate Ib reproduces a lithographic facsimile of the printed recto of the leaf inserted by the publishers between pages 1138 and 1139 of the first edition, 1557, of *The Works of Sir Thomas More*. Plate IIa shows a photomicrograph (38x) of a detail from the original printed page: the 'w' in 'answered' of line 38 of the left-hand column; Plate IIb shows a photomicrograph (38x) of the same detail taken from the lithographic facsimile. The irregular outline and width of line in the lithograph, arising from the pen tracing, as compared with the typographic original, are well shown in the enlargements. A similar study of other pairs of details would provide additional evidence concerning the nature of the page reproduced in Plate Ib.²

Case B.

Facsimile reproductions of entire printed books, issued with or without intent to deceive, form another category. A genuine copy of the 1549 Giolito edition of Aretino's *Filosofo* may profitably be compared with two eighteenth-century facsimiles, one done in type (reproducing this very edition), the other in pen-and-ink (reproducing the very similar first edition, also by Giolito, of 1546). The type facsimile bears no statement regarding its true nature, but was printed in Brescia by Conte Faustino Avogadro about 1730; it is a comparatively crude effort at deception.³ The pen-and-ink facsimile, on the other hand, while openly acknowledging on the last leaf that it has been transcribed 'a D. Amadeo Mazzoli Forojuliensi anno a partu Virginis MDCCLXII,' so closely approximates the type on which it is based as to beguile all but the closest and most practised scrutiny with the naked eye or the hand glass.⁴

In Plate IIc is shown page 2 (sig. Aii) of the Mazzoli facsimile. Plate III gives photomicrographs (38x) of a detail from this page—a portion of 'huma-' in line 7—as it appears in each of the three

² Original leaf in Utopia 10-5F*, lithographic facsimile in TP 2150, 5-10F*.

³ Avogadro, an active collector of rarities in Italian literature, was responsible for a number of such type facsimiles (see Bartolommeo Gamba, *Serie dei testi di lingua*, 4th ed., Venice, 1839, nos. 1204, 1253, 1433). An account of the three editions of the *Filosofo*—the two by Giolito and the Avogadro counterfeit—appears in Salvatore Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari* (Rome, 1890-97), I, 123-125, 245-246.

⁴ There are a number of other pen-and-ink facsimile books in the Harvard Library, nearly all of them dating from the eighteenth century; only one or two, however, are comparable in skill to the work of Mazzoli.

exemplars: 1549 edition (IIIa), Avogadro facsimile (IIIb), Mazzoli facsimile (IIIc). In each case the detail as reproduced is composed of three separate photomicrographs fitted together to cover a larger area than a single photomicrograph could include at this magnification. The precision controls of the automatic developing and printing processes of the Land Polaroid film become important advantages when a uniform series of photomicrographs of this sort is desired.

In IIIa the firm, clean-cut outline of the sixteenth-century italic face, with great extremes in the width of the lines, is plainly shown. By contrast, the outlines in IIIb are irregular and the variations in width of line much less marked, indicating a workman who was only superficially acquainted with the style he was imitating. In addition, the battered condition of the type may be noted.

The pen-and-ink facsimile in IIIc resembles much more closely the sixteenth century original shown in IIIa. Mazzoli had clearly made a careful study of his model. There is a similar firmness and a similar variation in width of line. It should be noted that the edges of these drawn letters are more crisp and sharp than in either IIIa or IIIb. Again, the ink in this pen facsimile conceals the conformation of the paper under the lettering, while the shape of the paper fibres is clearly visible in IIIa and IIIb.⁵

Case C.

Illustrations in a printed work may also appear in facsimile rather than as genuine impressions from an original plate. A striking example is to be seen in an apparently unique copy of the 1536 Giolito edition of Dante's *Divina Commedia* which contains eight of the nineteen copper-plate engravings, attributed to Botticelli, used in the 1481 Landino edition. These eight plates were accepted as genuine in the first description of the copy by Lomberto Donati, but were later rejected by him as spurious, on purely psychological grounds.⁶ A photomicrographic comparison of these plates with those in the 1481 Landino at once substantiates this rejection.

Plate IVa shows the illustration of Dane and Virgil with the vision of Beatrice taken from an original engraving in the 1481 edition. Plate IVb shows a photomicrograph (38x) of a detail in this original

⁵ The 1549 Giolito is Ital 7508. 55-5*, the Avogadro facsimile Ital 7508. 55-10*, and the Mazzoli facsimile on deposit in the Department of Printing and Graphic Arts.

⁶ Description in 'Un esemplare della "Commedia" di Giovanni Giolito con le incisioni del Botticelli (Venezia 1536),' *Bibliofilia*, XXXI (1929) 361-364; retraction in 'Atto di contrizione', *Maso Finiguerra*, I (1936), 249-250, and in *Bibliofilia*, XXXIX (1937), 379.



Plate IIa



Plate IIb

2
A L M A G N A N I M O
D V C A D' V R B I N O .



O I che la piu che
ammiranda uene-
ta Republica ,
nel dare a la vo-
stra sopr' huma-
na eccellenza, et
la Verga , & il V esillo di ge-
nerale Gouvernatore , & Duce . poi
che nel dargnele dico ; con la pom-
pa d'uno spettacolo degno de la
incoronatione di qualunque si sia
Imperadore , o Re , ha fatto si ,
che se ne sono congratulate con la
somma de le sue uirtuti illustri non
solo tutte le genti , che ubidiscano
al santo impero di questa eterna
Città di Dio : ma insieme con ogni

A ii

lma

Plate IIIa

lma

Plate III

lma

Plate IIIc



Plate IVa

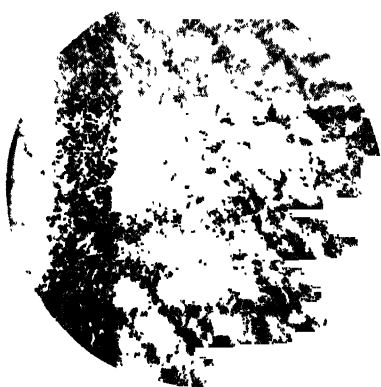


Plate IVb



Plate IVc



Plate IVd

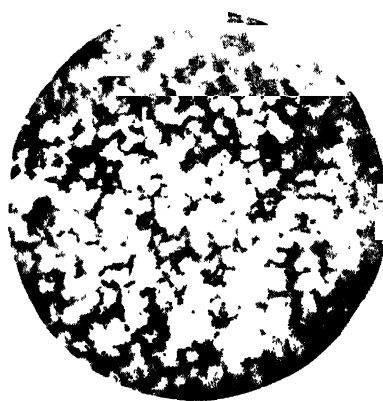


Plate IVe

(a portion of Dante's robe, in the central group), while Platte IVc shows the same detail, similarly magnified, in the '1536' impression. The diffuse pattern of the ink deposit in IVb contrasts strikingly with the cell-like pattern in IVc. This latter pattern indicates that the impression was taken from a photo-mechanical process plate. Since such photographic processes were a development of the nineteenth century, the plate used must have been made more than three hundred years after the authentic illustrations were printed.

Plate IVd and Plate IVe show a neighbouring portion of the robe under greater magnification (110x), IVd reproducing the 1481 original and IVe the '1536' facsimile. In IVd the imbedding of the ink in the fibres of the paper may be clearly seen, while in IVe the ink rests on the surface of the paper, indicating a relatively brief lapse of time since the making of the latter impression.

A similar investigation of the other seven '1536' illustrations reveals that all are photo-mechanical reproductions.⁷

⁷ The original Landino illustration is Plate II, used as Plate III, of the Sussex-Hunnewell copy deposited in the College Library. The 1536 Giolito is at present likewise on deposit.

A copy of another edition of the *Commedia* (Venice, F. Marcolini, 1544) was described by Robert Brun in 1931 as containing sixteen of the nineteen Botticelli plates (*Bibliophile*, 1, 243-244). Suspicion was directed to this set of plates by Arthur M. Hind in 1938 (*Early Italian Engraving*, 1, 101). The present location of the copy is unknown, but if photomicrographic examination should some day be possible it might well show that these '1544' plates are the same as those of '1536', or at least represent a similar process of reproduction.

SHAW RAPID SELECTOR

R. C. GUPTA

National Archives of India, New Delhi

THE present day output of learning and research has become so vast that scholars get lost in the very bulk and diversity of the tabs, such as abstracts and catalogues devised to aid in rapid selection of the desired material. In order to save the valuable time and energy of scientific-workers in selecting their material, Dr. Vannever Bush started work in Massachusetts Institute of Technology on devising an 'electronic brain' or 'mechanical secretary' that could sort, select and deliver just the matter needed by the scholar. Though the principles of such a machine were worked out before the last world war, the project had to be abandoned due to war time exigencies. After the cessation of hostilities the Office of the Technical Services of United States Department of Commerce appropriated more than \$ 75,000 for perfection of the machine which was developed by the Engineering Research Associates of Minneapolis under the supervision of Ralph R. Shaw, Librarian of the Department of Agriculture. The prototype machine known as the Rapid Selector is now being tested for performance.

The Rapid Selector can be divided into two main parts: (i) the camera and (ii) the selector proper.

The camera is a modified form of flat bed microfilm model fed with 35 mm. safety film. It is capable of photographing pages of books or documents in the usual way, with this difference, that the reduction and the position of the image is so arranged that it occupies only half the width of the film. On the other half alongside of the page image, is photographed a coded pattern of a checkerboard in bright and dark squares. These checkerboard patterns are easily obtained by manipulating a numbering machine key board which is electrically connected to the checkerboard.

For each subject category a number is assigned and any number will do so long as it is adhered to throughout. In the machine there is room for seven digits and consequently more than ten million combinations and (therefore) subject categories are possible. Furthermore it is capable of recording simultaneously as many as six different catalogue descriptions.

Thus photographing for rapid selection is quick and easy and no highly skilled personnel is needed. From the operator's point of view

this type of micro-filming differs from the ordinary microfilming only in that while a new item is fed, before pressing the exposure switch he has also to press a few buttons according to numbers supplied with each. Of course, the film is developed and stored in the usual manner.

The selector proper can roughly be looked upon as a modified continuous microfilm printing machine, the modification consisting in the ability of the machine to select what to print. This is achieved by punching squares in a black thick paper corresponding to the number giving the checkerboard pattern of the subject entry to be selected. This punched card is inserted in a proper slot in the selector which is fed with the coded negative film and unexposed positive film. Through photoelectric cells and complicated net of electronic tubes it is so arranged that each time the inspecting device scores a hit i.e. it finds a subject that exactly matches the coding frame put in for search, speed flash bulb takes a snap shot of the appropriate item. After each exposure fresh unexposed film moves in position for the next hit. Scanning by this machine is very fast, the frames running past the inspecting position at the rate of about 10,000 a minute. Since each item can be coded in six different ways, this practically means scrutinizing 60,000 subjects a minute. The speed flash bulb used, has an exposure time of about two millionth of a second only. This is so small that the images on positive film are very sharp and practically no loss of resolution takes place.

The above description can merely be stated to sum up the basic underlying principles from a layman's point of view. Actually the mechanism is very complicated and Engineering Research Associates and Mr. Shaw in particular must be congratulated for having worked the idea to perfection through years of hard labour. Just to give an idea about the difficult nature of their work, one problem may be mentioned. Two abstracts might come right next to each other, or at best so close that a second picture must be taken before a new unexposed film has time to move in position. Thus special anticipatory head and mirrors had to be arranged in suitable positions in the Rapid Selector to slow down the movement of the film in such cases.

After the reels to be scanned have been run through the positive copy is developed and can be delivered to the scholar.

The Rapid Selector is the first of its kind and at present it is only at experimental stage as regards the possibilities of its application to different problems. It is too early to assess its potentialities. One thing, however, is evident. The machine combines the advantages of

two highly useful modern techniques, (a) microfilming and (b) punch cards. It has the advantages of low cost, faithful reproduction and saving of storage space of the former and the ease, rapidity, and automatic selection of the requisite material of the latter. Its advantages to the scientific research worker in selecting the desired abstracts are obvious. In fact the development of the machine can partly be ascribed to the need for the same. Librarians, administrators and industrialists may soon find ingenious applications of the Rapid Selector to meet their problems.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Editors will be glad to receive for publication letters and communications dealing with archives, manuscript studies and related topics. They, however, do not hold themselves responsible for opinions expressed by their correspondents.

INDIGENOUS INDIAN MAPS

I have received enquiries from Europe for information about old Indian maps and their construction. One enquiry particularly refers to maps of Hindu or Muhammadan origin, uninfluenced by Europe.

Examples of such maps are referred to in volume I of *Historical Records of the Survey of India*; viz.

Plate 4—An Arab map by Ibn Haukal, taken from Vol. I, of Elliot & Dowson's *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*.

Note 1 on page 208—A Hindu map that appears in Gladwin's *Ayeen Akberry*.

Page 220—An Arab or Persian map of Afghanistan by Istakhari that appears in *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society*, Vol. II, 1844, pp. 58-72.

I would be very grateful for information regarding any old maps of this description, whether original or published, more particularly any of 17th century or earlier.

The Survey of India holds a small number of such maps that had been collected by early surveyors and political officers, from the archives of the Emperors of Delhi, or other Princes, as noted in note 5 on page 10 of *Historical Records of the Survey of India*.

Early maps and drawings make an important contribution to a knowledge of early history, as indicating learning, culture, and imagination of their periods.

R. H. PHILLIMORE

Dehra Dun,
January 31, 1950.

In continuation of my letter dated 31st January, I have since received a more detailed description of the kind of ancient maps of Indian origin that are sought for by Professor Leo Bagrow, editor of the journal *Imago Mundi*, that is published at Stockholm, Sweden.

He points out that the latter half of the 17th century is a period when Indian cartography would be "of especial interest to the history of Oriental people's culture". He goes on to say:

"I do not mean that later native cartography is of no interest to *Imago Mundi*—everything is interesting. . . . The topographical

map is an item of such primary importance in the life of man, that one could not really do without it.

"A method of representing, in one way or another, one's immediate environments, roads—one's idea of distant countries—or of the whole world—has always been a necessity to every human being; be it maps. . . . of the Marshall Islands made of reeds and shells, or of the Greenlanders made of a piece of wood, or traced by Eskimos on the skin of a walrus, or engraved on clay bricks in Babel. All this, though, may be insufficient. . . . is nevertheless characteristic.

"It is possible that India, whose superior culture has given to the world the doctrine of Buddha, developed the teaching of Confucius and other philosophers, and presented such literary monuments as Ramayan, has not created and left to us anything in other domains as well. Base as may seem to be the picturing of everyday necessities in maps, certain representatives of one or another profession were of course bound to practice topography at times.

"May be one day there will be discovered in India some traces of cartographical art somewhere in the depths of a temple or a castle."

In volume I of the *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, I have described, on page 208, an early map of Nepal presented to Warren Hastings, and on page 161 a "map of the world made by the Bramins" which was found by Reuben Burrow at Kashipur in Rohilkhand which was published by Gladwin as frontispiece to the first volume of his translation of the *Ayeen Akberry* (see pages 349-50 of second volume).

I should be delighted to pass to Professor Bagrow the description of any early map of genuinely Indian origin, that may be free of any suspicion of Western influence or guidance.

R. H. PHILLIMORE

Dehra Dun,
March 21, 1950.

NEWS NOTES

INDIA

National Archives of India

The National Archives of India has suffered a great loss in the retirement of Dr. Surendranath Sen on 31st October 1949. Dr. Sen came to the Imperial Record Department (now National Archives of India) a few months before the outbreak of the Second World War, in June 1939, and for a period of more than ten years he presided over this premier records repository of India.

Dr. Sen was educated at Dacca College (East Bengal) where three of his distinguished predecessors, S. C. Hill, C. R. Wilson and N. R. Hallward, served as teachers at different times. He began his teaching career in the Provincial Education Service of the Central Provinces (now Madhya Pradesh) and later joined the faculty of the Calcutta University as Lecturer in History. Before coming to New Delhi he had the distinction of holding Ashutosh Chair of Mediaeval and Modern Indian History and had also served as Honorary Adviser on Records to the Government of Bengal.

Dr. Sen has made valuable original contribution to the history of modern India. Among his several publications *Administrative System of the Marathas* and *Military System of the Marathas* are the most notable. His most recent work, the *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri* (1949) has been very favourably received by eminent scholars and the press of many countries.

Dr. Sen's period of stewardship of the records of the Government of India has been marked by developments of far reaching importance particularly regarding the preservation of records and facilities for historical research. In spite of several difficulties consequent upon the economic slump of the thirties and that of the war years, he persevered to raise the status of the central archival agency and to organize its machinery on the most up-to-date lines. Shortly after his assumption of office the Government of India decided, in December 1939, to throw open their records up to 1880 to *bona-fide* research students and the Research Rules were accordingly revised in 1940. Dr. Sen's solicitude to help the students working outside the record office, resulted in the revival of *The Indian Records Series* and the adoption of other schemes for publication of records in the custody of the National Archives of India.

The institution of a diploma course in archival work and the publication of *The Indian Archives* for the dissemination of knowledge about archives keeping and preservation of records and manuscripts also owe much to the interest evinced by him to save our valuable national heritage of paper records. At the time of the division of the country in 1947, Dr. Sen was much perturbed about the possibility of

division of the Central Government's records between India and Pakistan. He pressed for the maintenance of the integrity of these records and was successful in convincing the Partition Council of the dangers of partitioning them.

Dr. Purnendu Basu, Assistant Director, was appointed as Acting Director of Archives.

During the year ending 31 December 1949, the National Archives of India received for custody 3,346 bundles and 50 bound volumes of records of 18 agencies of the Government of India of which 2,296 bundles belonged to the late Foreign and Political Department. The Department also accessioned 2,736 bundles and 2,151 volumes of records belonging to some of the defunct agencies of the late Political Department. During the early months of this year large bodies of records have been transferred by the Railway Board, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of States and the External Affairs Ministry including Railway B Proceedings 1945-46, Defence Medical Rolls of War Prisoners, Home Proceedings 1926-40, Emigration A Proceedings 1871-1921, Tosha Khana records 1925-41, and Frontier Proceedings 1884-1922. The accessioning programme has, however, been greatly impeded due to lack of shelf space and shortage of personnel to administer records. The valuable map collections of the Survey of India could not be accepted for custody because of these difficulties.

The National Archives has also acquired some interesting manuscripts in Persian and Sanskrit dealing with historical subjects. Another valuable addition to the historical materials in the custody of the Department is a gift by Col. R. H. Phillimore of 15 volumes of transcripts obtained by him from various repositories in India and Europe of documents pertaining to the history of Indian surveys. These materials were used by Col. Phillimore in the writing of his monumental work on *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, two volumes of which have already been published.

The National Archives of India has also recently purchased a volume of *Melville Papers* from Messrs Francis Edward of London containing: (1) three autograph letters of Andrew Ramsay, Acting Governor of Bombay in 1788, addressed to Lord Melville (dated January to July 1788) regarding Tipu's intrigues with the French, Scindia's movements and French and Dutch Affairs in Pondicherry and Ceylon; (2) four autograph letters of General Sir William Medows, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Bombay 1788-90, addressed to Lord Melville regarding the state of Bombay army, trouble between the King's and Company's troops, financial matters, need of reforms in the Company's affairs and Tipu's attack on Travancore; (3) twenty seven autograph letters of General Sir Robert Abercromby, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Bombay 1790-92, to Lord Melville enclosing many official papers and reports regarding the campaign against Tipu, the Malabar and ceded territory, financial matters and the army. The collection thus contains invaluable mate-

rials particularly for the study of Anglo-Mysore relations during the period of Cornwallis's Governor Generalship.

The project for building up a library of microfilm copies of records and historical manuscripts of Indian interest available in foreign countries has shown good progress during recent months. By the end of March 1950, microfilm copies worth about Rs. 15,000 were received from the U.K., U.S.A. and Norway. The largest number of them (60 rolls of 100 feet each) contain copies of the manuscripts in the British Museum including the private papers of several prominent British statesmen and military officers who served in India during the 18th and 19th centuries. All the Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, relating to modern Indian history have been microfilmed by the University Press. The other British depositories wherefrom copies of documents have been obtained include National Library of Scotland (Edinburgh), H. M. Register House (Edinburgh) and Guildhall Library (London). The Riksarkivet of Oslo (Norway) has supplied to the Department micro-copies of all the records of Indian interest in its possession. A large part of these relate to Peter Anker, the Danish Governor of Tranquebar during the latter part of the 18th century. In the United States the Cleveland Public Library (Cleveland, Ohio) has a large collection of materials of Indian interest and copies of these have been acquired for the National Archives of India. The microfilming of small collections of manuscripts of Indian interest in the Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.) and Harvard University Library (Cambridge, Mass.), has also been completed. Prof. Holden Furber of the University of Pennsylvania has agreed to allow the Department to have copies of the *Melville Papers* which he bought in England twenty years ago. The microfilming of the documents in the French repositories has not yet begun, but a descriptive list of manuscripts of Indian interest in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, has been obtained to make selection of suitable material for photoduplication. The microfilming of the records of the Dutch East India Company at present available at the Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, is expected to be taken up very soon.

The personnel position in the National Archives has somewhat improved recently as the Government of India sanctioned in September 1949, a number of new posts in view of the increasing responsibilities of the Department. Mr. S. C. Chakravorti, Archival Chemist since 1946, was promoted to the new post of Preservation Officer (Class I). He, however, left the Department in March 1950, on his selection for the Indian Police Service.

The Department has recently acquired several microfilming cameras and other photographic equipment to facilitate photographic operations. A part of the stack area has been equipped with adjustable centilever shelves at a cost of about Rs. 1,25,000, but the available shelf space is hardly adequate even for the records which have already been received in the Department.

Fort William—India House Correspondence, Volume V has recently been issued for sale at Rs. 25/- per copy. This volume, the first to be published in the series, has been edited by Dr. N. K. Sinha of Calcutta University and contains the correspondence between the Board of Directors and the Fort William authorities in the Public Department for the years 1767-69. These letters give a true picture of the Company's political and commercial affairs at a critical time of its history. They also contain valuable materials for the study of the general political condition of India, the efforts of Shah Alam to get back to Delhi, the affairs of Oudh, the growing strength of the Sikhs and the Rohillas, Haider Ali's relations with the Company, the ambition of the Marathas to become the masters of Northern India, the intrigues of the French and the menace of Abdali. In the Introduction the Editor has analysed the contents of the letters, and the Notes make the understanding of the Text easier. The volume is made of 670 pages and contains 14 illustrations and 2 maps. It has also an exhaustive subject Index.

The Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Volumes VIII and IX are shortly expected to appear.

*Indian Historical Records Commission—26th Annual Meeting,
Cuttack*

The Indian Historical Records Commission met in Cuttack, the seat of the Government of Orissa, on 25-26 December 1949, for its 26th annual meeting. The inaugural meeting was held on 25 December, in a specially erected *pandal* on the premises of the Ravenshaw College. His Excellency Mr. Asaf Ali inaugurated the session. In the absence of the Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Education Minister of the Union Government and *ex-officio* President of the Commission, the Chair was taken by the Hon'ble Mr. Hare Krishna Mahatab, Chief Minister of Orissa. The Maharaja of Parlakimedi, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the members of the Commission on behalf of the Utkal University and the Government of Orissa.

His Excellency Mr. Asaf Ali in his inaugural address spoke highly of the achievements of the Commission in the past and expressed the hope that members of the Commission would be able "to collect, weigh, sift and interpret all available data required for unravelling a complex series of events which constitute the story of man's adventures on this earth." He also referred to the existence of large number of valuable records of Indian interest in the libraries and museums of Europe and America. Concluding his address Mr. Asaf Ali pleaded for the proper preservation of historical materials available in India by the Central and Provincial Governments.

After the inaugural speech, Dr. Purnendu Basu, Secretary of the Commission, read several messages of greetings to the Commission including one from His Excellency Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Governor General of India and a former President of the Commission. This

was followed by the reading of seven papers which related to 'some hitherto unknown documents on Indian history. Prof. S. H. Askari of Patna College described in his paper the contents of some significant Mughal *firmans* of the 16th and 17th centuries, brought to light by him in the course of his survey work on behalf of the Bihar Regional Records Survey Committee. Mr. T. S. Shejwalkar of the Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, drew the attention of research students to the existence in the *Peshwa Daftar* (Poona) of valuable statistical materials relating to the economic and social conditions in the Maratha territories during the 18th century. Other papers were on subjects of much diverse interest such as 'Treaty of Banjer Massin, 1812' by S. N. Das Gupta, 'the Famine of 1783-84 and the Company's Relief Measures' by Hari Ranjan Ghosal and 'Ayya Shastri' by C. S. Srinivasachari.

The 26th annual Meeting of Members was held on the morning of 25 December. In the absence of the *ex-officio* President, Prof. D. V. Potdar was voted to the Chair. The Commission considered the problem of conserving records under unified central control and recommended to the Government that a "Central Archival Authority be established by law charged with laying down the archival procedure in the country, at the Centre as well as in the provinces and the States, the Central Authority being further authorized to exercise the right of inspection in order to see that the procedure laid down by it is carried out satisfactorily". The Commission urged upon the Government of India to get back all Residency Records transferred in 1947 to the custody of the High Commissioner for U.K. in India. The other important resolutions adopted by the Commission were:

"That the Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission be nominated to represent the Commission at the ensuing meeting of the International Council on Archives to be held on August 20 to 23, 1950 in Paris and the Government of India be moved to make the necessary financial sanction for the Secretary to attend the session.

"That the Commission should be individually and permanently represented on the Indian National Commission for Co-operation with UNESCO, instead of taking its turn in rotation with several other bodies as at present.

"That the Secretary of the Commission be nominated as a member of the Indian Standards Institution Documentation Committee.

"That the curriculum for the Master's Degree in History and Commerce in Indian Universities should include the handling of archives and the study of and criticism of unpublished documents with a view to giving the students early training and practice in original research "

By another resolution the Commission urged upon the universities, colleges and learned institutions particularly those started before 1900 to organize their archives.

The Commission also recorded its appreciation of Dr. S. N. Sen's valuable services as Secretary of the Commission and requested the Government of India to appoint him as an additional expert member and as General Editor of the *Indian Records Series* and *Records in Oriental Languages Series* in his personal capacity and as an honorary adviser to the Local Records Sub-Committee.

The exhibition of historical manuscripts, records, copper plates, seals and coins organized on this occasion by the Government of Orissa was opened by Mr. Hare Krishna Mahatab on the evening of 24 December and it remained on view till 28 December. The exhibits from the National Archives of India included 55 documents illustrating different aspects of life in Orissa in the 18th and 19th centuries. Among other items of special importance for the history of Orissa were documents from the Record Room of the Collector of Cuttack relating to Mughal and Maratha periods. A number of State Governments, learned institutions and private individuals from all parts of the country had also lent important records and manuscripts for display at the exhibition.

Research and Publication Committee

The Research and Publication Committee of the Indian Historical Records Commission held two meetings during 1949. The 14th meeting of the Committee took place on 2 May 1949, in the office of the Director of Archives at New Delhi. Dr. Tara Chand, Educational Adviser to the Government of India, was in the Chair. The most important item on the agenda of the Committee was the problem of proper preservation of the records of the States which have merged with provinces or with bigger States Unions. The Committee unanimously recommended that these records should be inspected by the Director of Archives to the Government of India and a report submitted by him to the Indian Historical Records Commission. Among other questions considered by it were those relating to the importation from foreign countries of microfilm copies of records and historical manuscripts of Indian interest. The Committee recommended that such copies should be exempted from the payment of normal customs duties. By another resolution the Committee requested the Government that all historical manuscripts and documents in the possession of archaeological museums in India should be transferred to the custody of the National Archives. The Committee also reiterated its earlier recommendations in respect of the setting up of Central Record Offices by Provincial Governments.

The 15th meeting of the Committee was held at Cuttack on 25 December 1949, with Dr. R. C. Majumdar in the Chair. The Committee reviewed the progress of the publication programme of the National Archives of India. Dr. S. N. Sen, the retiring Secretary of the Commission, explained the reasons for the slow progress made in this connection. The Committee asked the Secretary of the Commis-

sion to draw up a detailed memorandum explaining the causes of delay for consideration at its next meeting to be held in July 1950. The Committee agreed with the views of the Madras Government that the Tanjore Raj records should not be housed in a private library and recommended that the Secretary of the Commission, Professor D. V. Potdar and Dr. P. M. Joshi should inspect the records with a view to suggest a suitable place for their location, proper preservation and utilization. On a motion of Mr. B. V. Bhat the Committee requested the Central Government to urge upon the Provincial Governments and States Unions to take immediate steps for the proper housing and preservation of the records of the defunct States within their respective jurisdictions.

Regional Records Survey Committees

The Regional Records Survey Committees set up on behalf of the Indian Historical Records Commission have continued to do very useful work regarding the survey of records and historical manuscripts, particularly in non-official custody. Reports of their recent activities are summarized below:—

The Madras Government set up a permanent Regional Records Survey Committee in December 1948 as suggested by the Government of India with Professor C. S. Srinivasachari as its Convener. Its membership is composed of five representatives of learned institutions ; two representatives of Universities in the province ; six nominees of the Provincial Government ; the President of the Hindu Religious Endowments Board, Madras ; the Superintendent of the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, Madras, and the Curator of the Madras Record Office. The Committee held two meetings during 1949 and was actively engaged on survey work, particularly of records of commercial firms, religious institutions and families of old landholders. It was successful in acquiring original papers belonging to the family of Ranganayakulu Chetty relating to the transactions of his ancestors with the English Free Merchants and with the Supreme Court from 1801 to 1860. A few additional papers relating to this subject have also been acquired by the Convener from Mr. C. Ranganayakulu Chetty Garu. The Committee has adopted a plan for preparing a note on the nature, contents and volume of private records of the 18th century and early 19th century in the possession of Raja Kendragula Jagannatha Rao Bahadur of Rajahmundry.

The West Bengal Committee made a survey during February-March 1950 of the old collectorate records in eight districts of 24 Parganas, Nadia, Birbhum, Midnapur, Burdwan, Bankura, Malda and Hugli. Three of these district record offices were inspected by Dr. N. K. Sinha, the Secretary of the Committee, and the other five were visited by Messrs. T. K. Mukherji, A. K. Das Gupta, T. K. Ray Chaudhuri and Amallesh Tripathi. According to their reports which have been published in a booklet, the bound volumes of old English

correspondence in these eight district record offices are about 3,000. In addition to these there are also available many bundles of correspondence. Their reports reveal that these records date from the last quarter of the 18th century. Though of little use for current administration the records constitute valuable material for the study of social, economic and administrative history of Bengal in the 18th and 19th centuries. The bound volumes of the old English correspondence are reported to be in a fairly good state of preservation. The Committee has recommended the removal of these volumes to Calcutta so that a descriptive list of these records could be prepared by the members of the Regional Committee.

Bihar Survey Committee discovered during 1949-50, several important *firmans*, *sanads* and other Persian documents of the Mughal period which supply valuable administrative details. Among the Persian manuscripts which have come to the notice of the Committee two deserve special mention. One of these, entitled *Zu-i-Hind* is a gazetteer of the districts of present day U.P. and Delhi states. It is partly written in Persian and partly in Urdu and covers more than 800 pages. The manuscript was written in 1873 under government orders. The other Persian manuscript is *Manaqib-i-Mohammadi* by Ali Sher Shiraji. This work describes the life and travels of a saint who came in the 15th century from Baghdad to Amjhar, a village in the district of Gaya. Both the manuscripts have been purchased by the Patna University Library.

Prof. Surajdeo Narain and Dr. H. R. Ghosal have found among the Muzaffarpur Collectorate Records some important papers relating to the measures adopted by the E. I. Company's Government to check the evil effects of a famine in 1783-84 in the Northern territories.

The *U. P. Survey Committee* with its five branches at Allahabad, Agra, Aligarh, Banaras and Lucknow has continued to do valuable work. The Lucknow Branch recently purchased some Persian documents at a cost of Rs. 600/- from a family of Sandila to complete the collection of a series of Persian letters of the 17th and 18th centuries, part of which had been acquired during 1948-49. These papers are valuable for the study of administrative and judicial institutions in Oudh. The Committee was particularly fortunate in enlisting the cooperation of members of the University faculty and senior students in its survey work.

The Allahabad Branch has appointed two sub-committees to deal with (1) Hindi and Sanskrit papers and (2) Persian, Arabic and Urdu records, respectively. It has been found that several Muslim families of Machhli Shahar (Jaunpur District) possess old Arabic and Persian manuscripts. Some Persian manuscripts have also been purchased through the efforts of Professors A. S. Siddiqi and Zamin Ali.

The Banaras Branch which started functioning recently has invited the cooperation of the Maharaja of Banaras, the Commissioners of Banaras and Gorakhpur and other distinguished officials and non-officials in the execution of its work.

The Agra Branch has found in the possession of a local Muslim school, valuable Persian manuscripts relating to the *dargah* of Fatehpur Sikri. Prof. J. C. Taluqdar, the Convener of the Branch, has also prepared a list of several Persian *firman*s and manuscripts of the Mughal period in private possession.

The *Regional Committee for Madhya Pradesh* (formerly Central Provinces) has recently made special efforts to survey records in the Hindi part of the State which had not been touched so far because of its distance from the seat of the Provincial Government. The Convener, Dr. Y. K. Deshpande with the help of local workers has made a systematic survey of the district records and private collections of manuscripts at Raigarh, Bilaspur, Katni, Sagar and Jabalpur. There are many old families in these districts who are in possession of historical documents. The revenue records in the district collectorates, particularly those relating to *Inam* and *Maft* and *Hakiyat Milkiyat* cases are reported to be of considerable historical value.

The Provincial Government, on a request made by Committee, has allowed its members to inspect the records in the offices of the Deputy Commissioners. Among the manuscripts found in private possession at Raigarh the most notable are copies of two Hindi works, entitled *Jaya Chandrika* compiled by Prahlad Kavi in 1782 A.D. and *Ratanpuraka Itihasa* originally composed by Gopal Kavi and subsequently amplified by Revaram Thakur in about 1817 A.D. Another document found at Raigarh by Mr. L. P. Pandeya is a copper plate grant made by Devanath Singh, a Gond ruler of Raigarh in about 1840 A.D. At Bilaspur two old Maratha families, named Diggraskar and Nagorao, whose ancestors had served the Bhonslas of Nagpur, are in possession of some significant documents relating to Bhonsla rule in Chhattisgarh. The survey work at Sagar carried out by two local members of the Committee, Dr. H. L. Gupta and Mr. V. V. Subehdar and the Convener have yielded fruitful results. The private collections of Mr. Subehdar, a direct descendant of Vinayakrao Subehdar who was in charge of administration when Baji Rao II ceded those territories to the East India Company in 1818, contain rich historical materials and are well preserved. The Committee also inspected the manuscripts in the possession of Mr. Ringe of Sagar among which are to be found several official communications relating to the introduction of education in that area at the beginning of British rule.

Dr. Deshpande also spent about a month and a half in examining the records in the District Record Rooms of Yeotmal and among them he found several *sanads*, *firman*s and orders of the officials of pre-British days. The revenue records of Chanda were inspected by Mr. S. K. Sadafale on behalf of the Committee. The survey work at Nagpur was carried out by the Convener and other members. Among the families whose private archives were inspected during the year, the most important are those of Sadasheorao Dandige one of whose ancestors had served in succession, Tipu, Wellesley and Elphinstone ; Raja Pratap Sinha Rao, the present representative of the Junior

Bhonisla Branch, the Gond Raja and Bhayyaji Joshi a descendent of a family of priests of Gond Rajas.

The Government of Mysore has appointed a permanent Regional Committee for the State. Its membership comprises of the Vice-Chancellor of Mysore University (Chairman); the Huzur Secretary to the Maharaja of Mysore; the Professor of History, Maharaja's College, Mysore; the Director of Archaeology in Mysore; the Registrar, General and Revenue Secretariat, Bangalore; Mr. T. S. Singaravelu Mudaliar, President, Mythic Society, Bangalore; Mr. Hullur Srinivasa Jois, Chitaldrug; Mr. Sivamurthy Sastri, Bangalore; and the Superintendent, Oriental Research Institute, Mysore (Secretary).

The *Orissa Committee* recently came across some valuable palm leaf manuscripts dealing with history, religion and literature. These have been bought and deposited at the National Archives of India at New Delhi.

The *Delhi Committee* under the guidance of its Convener, Dr. S. N. Sen made some attempts to find records and manuscripts in private possession but due to lack of funds and absence of active public cooperation much could not be achieved. The Committee acquired for the National Archives of India Persian manuscripts of *Nigar Nama* and *Nirmal-grantha* and letters in Persian of Sir Thomas Metcalfe to Emperor Bahadur Shah. The Committee has completed the transcription of *Tarakhi-i-Sorath*, *Shah Jahan Nama*, *Tarikh-i-Alamgir II* and *Tawarikh-i-Alamgir-Sani*. All these manuscripts belong to Khawaja Hasan Nizami, a well-known Muslim theologian of Delhi.

Board of Historical Records and Ancient Monuments, Bombay

The Government of Bombay, by its resolution No. 920 of 22 December 1949, has appointed a Provincial Board for Historical Records and Ancient Monuments with the object of establishing a permanent liaison between Government and archival activities, research institutions and experts interested in the subject, and linking all institutions and individuals in the Province concerned in the custody, preservation, publication and study of historical records, and with a view to providing for conservation of historical monuments and sites in the Province which are not being looked after by the Archaeological Department of the Government of India. It consists of six *ex-officio* members including the Hon'ble Minister for Education (President), the Secretary to the Education Department, Government of Bombay (Chairman), the Registrar of Bombay High Court, the Curator of Libraries of Bombay, the Superintendent of the Archaeological Department and the Director of Archives; twenty three members representing universities and learned institutions of the Province and five members nominated by the Government. The term of office of the members of the Board other than *ex-officio* members has been fixed at three years. The Director of Archives is the Secretary of the Board and the Office of Assistant Secretary of the

Board is held by the Historical Archivist of the Bombay Record Office. The functions of the Board are as follows:—

(1) to guide and co-ordinate research activities of Record Offices and research institutes in the Province, to undertake research for manuscript records including old maps and pictures, to consider the acquisition of records relating to the history of the Province and to suggest ways and means for their preservation and publication whenever necessary;

(2) to advise Government in the matter of nominating representatives from institutions in the Province to the Indian Historical Records Commission, its sub-committees and such other bodies; and

(3) to look after historical monuments and sites not looked after by the Archaeological Department of the Government of India and to suggest ways and means for their preservation.

The Government of Bombay has also decided that the Director of Archives will be the General Editor of the *Bombay Records Series*.

Bombay Record Office

With the merger of the states of Kolhapur and Baroda in the province of Bombay the record offices of these states have also been placed under the charge of the Director of Archives to the Government of Bombay. The main part of their muniments consists of administrative records beginning from 1840 for Kolhapur and from 1860 for Baroda. The records will, however, continue to be kept in their old repositories. The archives of Miraj (Junior) State dating back to the days of the Peshwas too have been taken over by the Bombay Government and it is proposed to house them at some central place where they could be used for research.

The Record Office has received for custody records of the Western India States Agency, which have been given to the Bombay Government on a quasi-permanent loan by the Central Government. Among the other recent acquisitions of the Office are microfilm copies of the private papers of Robert Cowan, Governor of Bombay, 1728-33, which are at present in the possession of the Marquis of Londonderry.

The keen interest taken by the State Government in historical research is reflected in the resumption of the publication of *Poona Residency Correspondence* which had been suspended during the war period. Volume XII of this series, containing the correspondence of Mountstuart Elphinstone when he was Resident at the Peshwa's Court (1811-1815), has recently appeared and another volume relating to his Residency, to be published shortly, will bring the story of Anglo-Maratha relations down to 1818. Another recent publication of the Office is the *News Letters of the Mughal Court* edited by B. D. Verma. These letters in Persian relate to the affairs of the Mughal Court during the decade preceding the third battle of Panipat, a period during which the Marathas overran the territories of Delhi, Rohilkhand, the Doab and the Punjab. The

materials published in this volume are of great interest to students of the history of Jats, the Nawabs of Oudh and the Marathas. Dr. Jadunath Sarkar who is the General Editor of the *Poona Residency Correspondence* has also undertaken to edit a volume of a selection of Persian newsletters found among the Parasnis manuscripts, relating to the affairs in Northern India 1770-1800. The programme of the Record Office also includes the publication of a *Descriptive Catalogue of Pre-1820 Records* and *Elphinstone's Report on Territories Conquered from the Peshwa*.

Madras Record Office

The recent acquisitions of the Madras Record Office comprise the records of all the departments of the Secretariat for 1945, of the Board of Revenue for 1937-38 and of the Government Solicitor prior to 1858. The archives of the former states of Pudukkottai, Banganapalle and Sandur which have merged with Madras have been placed under the charge of the district officers of Trichinopoly, Kurnool and Bellary respectively but their records of the period before 1858 are proposed to be housed in the Madras Record Office at Egmore.

The rules governing access to Madras records for *bona fide* historical research have been recently revised. Formerly all applications for examining the records of the Revenue and Irrigation departments after 1800 and the archives of other departments after 1856 had to be sanctioned by Madras Government, but under the revised rules, the Curator has been authorized to dispose of all applications himself and to refer to the Government only such applications as he should think necessary.

The latest publication to be issued by the Madras Record Office is the *Diary and Consultation Book of the Public Department, 1757*, Volume 87. Three other volumes of this series (nos. 88-90) are in the press. Other records publications of the Office which are expected to appear shortly include *Public Despatches from England, 1757-58*, Volume 61, *Major's Court Proceedings, 1728*, and *Fort St. David Consultations, 1837*.

The Punjab Government Record Office, Simla

The Record Office of the Punjab Government is rapidly developing varied aspects of its work. Apart from the accrual of some old government records it has recently acquired a large number of government publications, including reports and gazetteers from the Offices of the Commissioner of Jullundur and Administrator of Simla which are of great value for reference purposes. Similar materials lying in the district offices of Gurdaspur and Karnal are also expected to be received by the Record Office.

The repair and rehabilitation of old documents is making satisfactory progress. The unique collection of *Khalsa Darbar Records*

which consists of unwieldy bundles of loose papers is being resolved into handy volumes with strong bindings to preserve them properly and to facilitate their use for research. All the sheets of these papers are mount-guarded before they are gathered into volumes for binding. In view of the bulk of these records the entire series will run into several thousand volumes.

The records accessioned recently have been examined by the staff of the Office with the purpose of weeding of useless papers. A descriptive catalogue of the historical and literary manuscripts is under preparation and the press-listing of English files is continuing. During 1949-50, manuscript press-lists of the English files of Ambala Division relating to Judicial (1857-64), Military (1857-73), Public Works (1861-80) and Political (1857-80) Departments were prepared. The printing of the press-lists has, however, been deferred because of financial stringency.

To make the records available for research the office rules regulating access to them have been formulated. The publication of historical monographs which formed an important aspect of the activity of the old Punjab Record Office at Lahore has been resumed by the Simla Office under the General Editorship of the Keeper of Records. The first monograph in the series which is expected to appear very shortly is entitled: *The Lahore Darbar—in the Light of the Correspondence of Sir C. M. Wade, 1823-40* and edited by Dr. R. R. Sethi of the Punjab University. Wade was East India Company's Political Agent at Ludhiana from 1823 to 1840 and was the normal channel of communication between the Lahore Darbar and the Fort William Government. He played a significant role in the field of diplomatic relations and was very largely responsible for maintaining friendship for a long time between the two governments. This publication will be of great interest to the students of Anglo-Sikh relations during the period of Ranjit Singh's regime.

The Punjab Government Record Office has also been active in the field of survey of records and historical manuscripts and has brought to light a number of unknown manuscripts. Early in 1950, Dr. G. L. Chopra visited Jammu for survey of historical materials in the custody of the State Government and private owners. In March the records of the former Pataudi State which is now merged in Gurgaon District of the Punjab were inspected by another member of the staff of the Record Office.

Central Record Office, Allahabad

The Central Record Office of U. P. is now temporarily located in a government building at 53 Gandhi Marga, Allahabad. The accommodation available there is extremely inadequate. The State Government is, however, considering the question of providing a more spacious building and installing suitable steel shelves for the muniment rooms.

The staff of the Office has been strengthened by the appointment in December 1949 of Mr. K. P. Srivastava as Assistant Keeper of the Records.

The Keeper of Records has been conducting an enquiry into the nature and volume of the old records of the State with a view to centralizing them at Allahabad. The Departmental records up to 1900 and all other pre-Mutiny records will be transferred to the Central Record Office when proper arrangements for their housing are made. The State Government in consultation with the High Court of Judicature at Allahabad has also decided to transfer to the central repository the non-current judicial records. The old records of the States of Tehri-Garhwal and Rampur which have merged in the province have been transferred to Allahabad to ensure their proper preservation.

The Government of U. P. has also decided to arrange for the preparation of detailed inventories and handlists of all official records, dated prior to 1935, to facilitate the work of the research students who would use these archives. A start has already been made in this connection with the pre-Mutiny records.

West Bengal Secretariat Record Room, Berhampur

The report of the West Bengal Record Room for the period from 15th August 1947 to 31st December 1948, which has just been received, reveals that the partition of Bengal seriously affected the Record Room. In compliance with the decision of the Separation Council, a share of the Current Records was given to the new province of East Bengal. The Government of East Bengal also claimed a share in the old-records but no arrangement acceptable to both the Governments could be made. Another serious repercussion of the partition was that the office lost the services of 31 trained members of the staff because they opted for the new province of East Bengal.

The pre-Mutiny records in the custody of the State Government are still housed at Berhampur for want of suitable accommodation in Calcutta. The post-Mutiny archives are kept at the Writer's Building in Calcutta but the room available there also is inadequate and unsuitable for their proper preservation. The Government is, of course, considering the question of providing an adequate building for the housing of the Archives of the State in Calcutta.

During 1947-48 the Departments of the Government transferred to the Record Room over forty thousand papers of 1943. The passport records, endorsements and visas for 1941, numbering 2,179 and those of 1942 numbering 2,513 have also been received in the Record Office. Another item of great interest accessioned recently is the electoral rolls of the Indian Legislative Assembly for 1945.

History of Freedom Movement in India

The Government of India has recently appointed a committee for preparing a plan for writing the history of freedom movement

in India. The members of the committee include Dr. Tara Chand, Education Secretary to the Government of India (Chairman), Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Professor C. S. Srinivasachari, Dr. Bisheswar Prasad and Dr. S. N. Sen (Convener and Secretary). The appointment of the Committee is mainly due to the personal interest evinced by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in the proposal for the compilation of an authentic account of the freedom struggle culminating in the attainment of Indian independence. The Committee held its first meeting on 5 January 1950 to settle the preliminaries for the execution of the plan. It was decided that the proposed history should be confined to the period from 1870 to 15 August 1947 and that the movements before 1870 be treated in an introductory chapter. The history is to be based on the study of original materials available both in India and abroad and official as well as non-official sources. The Committee has recommended to the Government the establishment of a central organization at New Delhi with regional offices for the collection of source materials for the proposed work. In pursuance of the recommendations of the Committee the Ministry of Education has invited the cooperation of all State Governments, Indian Universities and the public in general for the successful execution of the scheme. The Government has also made a similar appeal in foreign countries through the Indian missions abroad. It is hoped that during 1951-52, provision will be made for adequate funds required for the establishment of the central as well as regional offices.

Preservation of Mahatma Gandhi's writings

The Gandhi National Memorial Trust has decided to establish a Gandhi Central Museum where it is proposed to preserve all the original writings of Mahatma Gandhi, his voice recordings, records relating to him and the institutions founded by him. It is proposed to make this collection as exhaustive as possible. The Trust has also decided to secure the assistance of the Director of Archives to the Government of India in setting up the museum.

INTERNATIONAL

First International Congress on Archives

The first International Congress on Archives organized by the recently established International Council on Archives, the National Archives of France and the Association of Professional Archivists of France, will be held in Paris from 23 to 26 August 1950. These dates have been chosen so that members of the Congress may take part in the meeting of the 9th International Congress of the Historical Sciences which opens on 28 August 1950. The programme of the

Congress on Archives will comprise discussions on the following subjects:

1. Control of the Archives in the making
2. Archives and Microphotography
3. Archives of private enterprises (Economic Archives)
4. International bibliography of archival guides.

Four recorders (or reporters) have been charged with the responsibility of presenting for each of the problem a survey containing the maximum information gathered from various member countries. Registration may be either individual or in the name of an institution; in the latter case the Institution may be represented by one member at the Congress.

In addition to working meetings various receptions and excursions will be arranged. The Constituent Assembly of the International Council on Archives will meet on 21-22 August at the UNESCO House.

Dr. Purnendu Basu, Director of Archives, Government of India and Secretary of the Indian Historical Records Commission has been nominated as a member of the Admissions Committee in place of Dr. S. N. Sen, former Director of Archives.

International Congress of Historical Sciences

The 9th International Congress of Historical Sciences will be held in Paris from 27 August to 2 September 1950. Its sections will be: (a) Anthropology and Demography, (b) History of Ideas, (c) Economic History, (d) Social History, (e) History of Civilizations, (f) Political History and (g) History of Institutions; each section will be divided into: (i) Pre-history and Antiquity, (ii) Mediaeval History (iii) Modern History up to 1914 and (iv) Contemporary History, 1914-39.

Anglo-American Conference of Historians

An Anglo-American Conference of Historians will be held in London on 14-15 July 1950, under the auspices of the Institute of Historical Research. The Conference will include two General Meetings and a number of Section meetings at which papers will be read on Mediaeval European, Mediaeval English, Modern European, Modern English and American Histories.

UNITED KINGDOM

Public Record Office, London

The Public Record Office, London received during 1949 large bodies of records from the Supreme Court of Judicature and from Departments. The *Companies (Winding-up) Proceedings* (1923-32) form the main part of the records transferred by the Supreme Court.

Among the archives recently transferred by the Foreign Office the most important are those of the British diplomatic missions in Washington (1914-28), Chile (1911-28), Japan (1921-29), Tabriz (1837-1905) and Russia (1881-98). The other important accruals are the records of the Colonial Office (1930-31), Dominion Office (1930-31) and of the Civil Service Commission (1855-1935). The Office also received an unique gift of one of the original copies of the *Articles Agreed by the Anglo-Scottish Commissioners* in 1604 for Union between England and Scotland. This copy was found in 1949 in private custody and a generous grant from the Pilgrim Trust made it possible for the Public Record Office to procure this significant document.

The intermediate depositories established with the purpose of taking proper care of the records in the phase between current use and final transfer to the Public Record Office are growing rapidly. The records housed in them at the close of 1949 covered 217,000 linear feet of shelving.

From 1 January 1950, the Master of Rolls has promulgated new *Rules and Regulations respecting the Public Use of Records* with a view to facilitate access to the public. According to these rules provision has been made for keeping the Round Room of the Office open up to 5-30 p.m. from Mondays to Fridays and closing the Long Room at 1 p.m. on Saturdays. This change will be of considerable benefit to the regular students as well as part-time researchers as the extension of opening hours in a week will be equivalent to about one working day.

The Public Record Office has recently published *Calendar of Close Rolls*, Edward IV, Volume I and printing of *Curia Regis Rolls*, Volume X and *Calendar of Treasury Books*, Volumes XX, XXI, XXIII and XXIV has also been completed. Several other volumes are in press at present and considerable progress has been made with the preparation of a *Catalogue of Seals on the Ancient Deeds Preserved in the Public Office*. Mons. Pierre Chaplais has been appointed to edit the *Treaty Rolls*, the chief of the series of Chancery Enrolments now remaining unpublished. This series is the principal Chancery Record of diplomatic relations with European countries and of the administration of Norman possessions of the English Crown from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries. The Public Record Office has also undertaken, in collaboration with the French Comité des Travaux Historiques, the publication of *Gascon Rolls* from Edward II to Henry VI.

British Records Association—17th Annual Meeting

The membership of the British Records Association now exceeds one thousand, a fact which reflects the awakening interest in records in the United Kingdom. The seventeenth Annual Meeting and Conference of the Association was held in London on 6-7 December

1949: As usual, several papers on archival subjects were read at the sectional meetings of the Conference.

The *Technical Section* met on the morning of the first day and discussed the various aspects of the process of lamination of paper documents with cellulose acetate foil which has become the standard practice in the United States for the repair of records. Mr. H. M. Nixon, the principal speaker at the meeting, pointed out two main advantages of the lamination process—its speed of operation and elimination of highly skilled techniques. According to him the heat to which foil and document were subjected in the process was 300°F, insufficient even to discolour unprotected paper, while the pressure of 1,000 lbs per square inch was much less than that to which modern paper was subjected in the course of manufacture. Another advantage of the application of lamination was that it could be undone as the cellulose acetate foil could be melted out of the document by putting it in acetone solution. Mr. Nixon, however, regarded twelve years period during which it had been employed in U.S.A. as insufficient for testing the efficacy of the process particularly for preserving unique paper records and was of opinion that for the time being its use should be confined to printed books.

During the animated discussion which followed Mr. Nixon's address Mr. D. L. Evans of the Public Record Office vehemently opposed the application of lamination as a substitute for repairs of paper documents. He thought that lamination could be used as a protective measure but there was no particular usefulness in the United Kingdom because of the favourable climate of the country for preservation of paper. He admitted, however, that the Eastern and tropical countries might use lamination with advantage for the protection given to paper by the plastic foil covering. Miss Elsas, County Archivist of Glamorganshire, did not believe that lamination as a repair process would prove speedier than old methods because to prepare a document for repair would have still to be done by highly skilled workers. Mr. C. D. P. Nicholson suggested the possibility of soaking the document to be repaired in a solution of plastic material to obtain the results which were intended to be obtained by lamination. Sir Hilary Jenkinson who presided over the meeting strongly deprecated any method of repair which would subject every document to the same treatment without regard to the particular needs of each. He believed that good paper treated with size was as strong as the one treated with lamination. Sir Hilary further did not regard the period during which the lamination process has been in use in the United States as sufficient to warrant its use in archives.

Col. W. LeHardy, Clerk of the Records of Middlesex and Hertfordshire, read a paper on "Records of Local Clubs and Societies" at the meeting of the *Records Preservation Section*. Speaking about their historical importance, he observed that there was no class of Records which threw a more intimate, or a more accurate light on the thoughts, habits and ambitions of people of all classes than the

Records of local clubs and societies. The discussion of the subject showed very clearly that keen interest was already being taken in the preservation of such records in the United Kingdom.

The meeting of the *Publication Section* was held on the morning of 7 December with Prof. T. F. T. Plucknett in the chair. Miss Joyce Godber of Bedford Record Office read a paper on the "Publication of Latin Records". She referred to the varying practices followed by local records societies interested in the publication of Latin texts and pointed out the difficulty of adopting a uniform policy in this respect. However, she advocated their publication in such a form that should be good enough for the scholars and should also meet the requirements of the local members.

The subject for the *Discussion Meeting* of the Association was "Facilities for Access" and the two principal speakers were Prof. Jack Simmons of the University College, Leicester and Mr. Felix Hull, County Archivist of Berkshire. The latter pointed out the difficulties that local records offices with limited accommodation and small staff face in providing facilities for students. Dr. E. F. Carpenter, Vicar of Stanmore, spoke on ecclesiastical records and their accessibility for research. He explained that it was difficult to consult diocesan records and pleaded that older records of Diocesan Offices should be deposited with Public Libraries or County Record Offices. Mr. R. L. Atkinson, Secretary of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, took the opportunity of explaining to the members of the Association how the Commission acted as intermediary between the owners of private archives and students by arranging for deposits of documents in approved libraries and record offices to make them readily available to students. Mr. Robert Somerville pleaded for the extension of hours of opening of records repositories so that the part-time student could be helped in doing research among records.

The Annual General Meeting of the Association was held in the Stock Room of the Stationers' Hall with the new President Sir Raymond Evershed in the chair. Lord Greene, lately President of the Association, was elected Honorary Vice-President of the Association.

The Master of the Rolls' Archives Committee (1949)

Sir Raymond Evershed, Master of the Rolls, has appointed a small committee, called "The Master of the Rolls' Archives Committee (1949)" to prepare legislative proposals on the lines suggested by the Archives Committee set up in 1943 for the establishment of a National Archives Council. The membership of the Committee comprises of Professor T. F. T. Plucknett (Chairman), Sir Hilary Jenkinson, Professor J. G. Edwards, Mr. C. J. Newman (representing the Association of Municipal Corporations) and Mr. L. Edgar Stephens (representing the County Councils Association). Mr. E. W. Denham, an Assistant Keeper of the Public Record Office, has been appointed as Secretary of the Committee. A number of bodies have been invited

to appoint representatives whom the Committee can consult as occasions arise and among those who have already agreed to co-operate are the Church of England, the Historical Manuscripts Commission, the British Museum, the Country Landowners' Association and the Library Association. The Committee held two meetings before the end of 1949 and has made considerable progress in its work.

The Historical Manuscripts Commission

Sir Raymond Evershed, Master of Rolls, was appointed Chairman of the Historical Manuscripts Commission in June 1949, Lord Greene having resigned the post on his retirement from the Mastership of the Rolls. Lord Greene has been appointed a member of the Commission.

The main part of the Commission's work is now carried through the National Register of Archives, and its Registrar Lt.-Col. G. E. G. Malet has been busy organizing voluntary help throughout the country. By the end of 1949, local committees had been formed in 34 counties. On 5 December 1949, a well attended conference of Voluntary Helpers from all parts of England was held in London as in the previous two years. The main subject of their discussion was the treatment of the large archive accumulations particularly regarding methods of their reporting. Recently the number of reports coming from the local committees has considerably increased and up to 28 February 1950, the total received since the inception of the Commission amounted to 1857.

British Museum, London

Mr. T. D. Kendrick, Keeper of the Department of British Antiquities has been appointed Director and Principal Librarian of the British Museum in succession to Sir John Forsdyke who is retiring after holding the Directorship for fourteen years. The Museum has suffered a serious loss in the death of Dr. Edward Lynam on 29 January 1950, at the age of sixtyfour. He had been Superintendent of the Map Room since 1931 and had been the Secretary of the Hakluyt Society from 1931 to 1945 and its President from 1945 to 1949. The study of early cartography owes much to the work done by Dr. Lynam.

It is gratifying to learn that the Trustees of the British Museum, in view of the changing conditions, have decided to depart from their old practice of refusing to accept any records or manuscripts on loan. The Museum will now co-operate with local Record Offices in the allocation of documents and papers, by accepting on permanent or indefinite loan, material which it recognizes to be of national (or international) significance. While thus prepared to accept deposits, the Museum will, however, prefer to have gifts which would become outright the property of the nation because only such manuscripts

will appear in the printed catalogues of the Manuscripts Department. The decision of the Museum is, however, a notable advance and it should go a long way in the preservation of important documents and their use for research.

Bodleian Library, Oxford

Although the Bodleian Library draws scholars from all over the world to study materials not elsewhere available, it has been conducting in recent months an exhibition directed to a purely local audience. In Oxfordshire, interest in local history is growing and the library is trying to help this trend and to lessen the destruction of records through apathy of their owners by arranging a display of the main sources of local history. The exhibition is devoted to Oxfordshire only; but the types of material shown are applicable to any English county. The display is intended to help people interested in studying the locality where they live and to illustrate national history by local example. Among the exhibits are a series of county maps, the earliest one being the Saxton map of 1574, typical records publications of local societies, older county histories and documents from the county muniments and parish records useful for the study of all aspects of Oxfordshire history.

An important collection of family papers has been deposited by Lord Clarendon in the Bodleian Library which already possesses the papers of his ancestor, Lord Chancellor under Charles II and Chancellor of the University of Oxford. The major part of the new deposit, consisting of the papers of the great Whig Clarendon who was thrice Foreign Secretary in the reign of Queen Victoria, will be of great use to the students of the British Foreign policy of the mid-nineteenth century. The Library is also the recipient of a notable collection of the diocesan papers at Cuddesdon Palace, which complement the records transferred from the Diocesan Registry in 1915 and 1947. Apart from deeds and legal papers concerning the temporalities of the see, the whole deposit belongs to the period after the rebuilding of Cuddesdon at the Restoration.

Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast

Dr. D. A. Chart, the first Deputy Keeper of the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland retired in April 1948 after 46 years' service. He has been succeeded as Deputy Keeper by Mr. Edward Heatly and Mr. K. Darwin has been appointed as Assistant Deputy Keeper.

During 1948 the Record Office received for deposit official records of Crown and Peace Office, County and City of Londonderry of 1927 and District Probate Registry, Londonderry 1922-23. A number of important documents were also acquired by gifts and purchases including the diary of a prominent Irish Nationalist, John Martin of

Loughorne, Co. Down, Drennan-Bruce Letters, 1782-1792, and a collection of legal documents from a firm of solicitors. The Office also obtained during the year transcripts of *State Papers Relating to Ireland* for 1742-44, from the Public Record Office, London.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The National Archives and Records Service

The National Archives of the United States of America which became last year a part of the newly established General Services Administration, has undergone another important organizational change. It was converted on 1 December 1949, into National Archives and Records Service of the General Services Administration. In addition to the office of the Archivist the NARS includes the National Archives, the Division of the Federal Register, the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, N.Y. and a new Records Management Division. In this new organization, Theodore R. Schellenberg has been appointed as Director of Archival Management with the responsibility for the internal working of the National Archives, and Herbert E. Angels has become Director of the new Records Management Division.

The NARS has also been assigned some of the functions of the Department of State which were not connected with foreign affairs. The National Archives will now publish the *Territorial Papers of the United States* and Division of Federal Register will be responsible for the publication of the *Statutes at Large*. The State Department will, however, continue to publish treaties and other international agreements.

The record holdings of the National Archives at the end of 1949 amounted to about 9,00,000 cubic feet. The recent accessions include the original statutes, 1941-47, papers relating to the 20th and 21st Amendment to the Constitution, correspondence between Wright brothers and the Weather Bureau regarding the choice of Kitty Hawk as the place for their experimental flights and patent files for 1918-45.

Death of R. D. W. Connor

U.S.A. has lost an eminent archivist and historian in the death of Dr. R. D. W. Connor on 25 February 1950. As the first Archivist of the United States (1934-41) and as one of the founders of the Society of American Archivists, Dr. Connor made significant contribution to the development of archives administration and the archival profession. He was also a leading historian of the United States and was the author of many historical monographs of great merit. After his retirement from the National Archives, Dr. Connor served the University of North Carolina as Professor of Jurisprudence and History (1941-50).

Society of American Archivists—13th Annual Meeting

The Society of American Archivists held its 13th annual meeting at Quebec on 19-20 September 1949. Incidentally it was the first meeting of the Society to be held outside the United States and it was also for the first time since the establishment of the American Association of State and Local History that the two organizations met at separate places for their annual meetings.

The first session of the meeting of the Society held on 19 September was devoted to the discussion of "Records Administration". The Chairman, Dr. Emmet J. Leahy, pointed out in his introductory remarks that there was no cleavage between "records administration" and "archives administration". This view was also supported by Dr. Solon J. Buck who took part in the discussion. Mr. W. D. Halliday of the Privy Council Office, Ottawa read an interesting paper on "The Public Records of Canada: Recent Development in Central Management", and the other contributors to the discussion were Robert Shiff of the National Records Management Council and Terry Beach of the Atomic Energy Commission. At the Luncheon Meeting, Dr. William K. Lamb spoke on "Written Archives in Canada". His address contained an excellent summary of the growth of archives and archival activities in Canada and the plans for organization of the records service of the Dominion on modern lines in the near future.

Dr. Philip C. Brooks, Records Officer of the National Security Resources Board, was elected President of the Society which will meet for its next annual meeting at Madison (Wisconsin) in October 1950.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N.Y.

About 85 per cent of the Roosevelt Papers in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library are now available for research. The formal opening was done at a brief ceremony held under the Presidentship of Dr. Wayne C. Grover, Archivist of U.S.A., on 17 March 1950. President Truman in his message on this occasion said that the Roosevelt Papers would furnish much source material for the study of one of the most momentous periods in American history. He also expressed the hope that other officials would also deposit their papers in the Library so that a fuller understanding of these years could be had.

The use of the following categories of Roosevelt Papers will be restricted for the time being:

- (i) Investigative reports on individuals;
- (ii) Applications and recommendations for positions;
- (iii) Documents containing derogatory remarks concerning the character, loyalty, integrity, or ability of individuals;
- (iv) Documents containing information concerning personal or family affairs of individuals;

- (v) Documents containing information of a type that could be used in the harassment of living persons or the relatives of recently deceased persons ;
- (vi) Documents containing information the release of which would be prejudicial to national security ;
- (vii) Documents containing information the release of which would be prejudicial to the maintenance of friendly relations with foreign nations ;
- (viii) Communications addressed to the President in confidence, the publication of which at this time so soon after the President's death and termination of office, might result in discouraging confidential communications to Presidents in the future.

Library of Congress

The Library of Congress has acquired some 200 papers of James Monroc, fifth President of the United States. These manuscripts, which were among those retained by the family when the main body of Monroe Papers was purchased by the U.S. Government in 1849, contain a few drafts of letters and documents in Monroe's own hand, but they consist for the most part of letters addressed to him from 1783 to 1831, the year of his death. Fifteen letters from his uncle, Joseph Jones, member of the Virginian Legislature and for long time judge of the Virginia General Court, contain valuable information about Virginia politics and proceedings in the legislature from 1783 to 1794. A later series written by Monroe's son-in-law, Samuel L. Gouverneur, from 1822 to 1829, tell of family matters and also deal with the political situation in New York. Other papers of special interest include letters from the Marquis de Lafayette during his visit to America in 1824-25, and letters from Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall, John C. Calhoun, and Henry Clay.

The main body of Carl Schurz Papers in the Library of Congress has been supplemented and considerably enlarged by a group of several thousand Schurz papers and related items presented by Mr. George McAneny, President of the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation. The group includes drafts and copies of a number of speeches delivered by Schurz, notes on civil service reform and financial subjects, and more than 500 letters, in German, received from the members of his family and from friends during the last half of the nineteenth century.

The papers of the late Roland S. Morris, prominent lawyer and Ambassador to Japan during Woodrow Wilson's second administration, have been presented to the Library of Congress by his son, Edward Shippen Morris, and his daughter, Mrs. William F. Machold. Most of the papers, which number about 5,000, were created during the years of Mr. Morris's service in Japan, 1917-21, and in the course of his special missions to Siberia in 1918 and 1919. Files of correspondence for this period are supplemented by memoranda, reports, cablegrams

exchanged with the Department of State and notes for speeches Mr. Morris delivered in Japan and after his return to the United States. A smaller group of papers pertains to his work as Professor of International Law at the University of Pennsylvania from 1924 to 1943.

The Library received on 1 March 1950, the gift of the non-current files of the National Office of the League of Women Voters dating back to 1920. These records contain much valuable information regarding the political and social history of the United States during the last three decades.

The Naval Historical Foundation has also decided to deposit in the Manuscript Division of the Library its important collections of naval historical papers including the private archives of several distinguished naval officers. These manuscripts are of great value as source materials for supplementing the information available in official documents and reports.

Dr. Lester K. Born has been appointed recently as Special Assistant on Microfilm Programme in the Office of the Assistant Director for Acquisitions, Processing Department. Dr. Born came to the Library of Congress after doing valuable work for the protection of archives in Germany where he was attached to the U.S. Military Mission. The duties of his new situation will be to carry out the Library's project of microfilming rare and valuable materials mostly available in foreign archives and libraries for making them available to scholars in U.S.A.

The Library sent in December 1949 an expedition to St. Catherine Monastery on Mount Sinai, for the purpose of microfilming more than 50,000 pages of ancient manuscripts in this world's oldest Christian monastery. The manuscripts are in Greek, Latin, Arabic, Syriac and a number of other languages. Though their existence was known to western scholars, they have mostly remained unexplored so far.

Another important project of microfilming biblical manuscripts has been undertaken through the generosity of Patriarch Tinotheos of the Greek Orthodox Church in Jerusalem and in collaboration with American Schools of Oriental Research. The object of the scheme is to photograph a large number of ancient and mediaeval manuscripts in the Patriarchate Library which dates back to the 6th century. The work of microfilming began in November 1949, and as soon as the photographic negatives are received in the Library, copies of the manuscripts will be made available to all scholars and libraries wishing to obtain them.

The Library of Congress has also made a start with its long planned microfilming project in Italy which is being supervised by Dr. Emilio Re of the Italian Archives. Arrangements have been made for exchange of copies of governmental records with the Archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs which will be advantageous to both the parties. The Library has also been engaged in co-operation with the Department of State since the end of 1948, in microfilming of selected series of records in the Archives of the Japanese Foreign

Office. Among the materials which have been copied or are being copied are the records for the Meiji, Taisho and Showa periods.

The American Documentation Institute, Washington

The American Documentation Institute has undertaken the publication of a new quarterly entitled the *American Documentation* under the editorship of Vernon D. Tate. In its first issue (January 1950) the editor has explained that the journal would be devoted to the review of ideas, techniques, problems and achievements in the field of documentation. The *American Documentation* will contain articles and other contributions on the creation, transmission, collection, classification and use of "documents" which are broadly defined as recorded knowledge in any form.

University of California: Mark Twain Papers

According to a report, published in the *Library Journal* of 1 January 1950, Mark Twain Papers, one of the most valuable collections left by any major writer in America, would be bequeathed to the University of California by Clara Clemens Samossoud, the only surviving daughter. The collection, now housed on the Berkley Campus, contains 45 note books and diaries, over 400 literary manuscripts, business records, letters etc.

BELGIUM

Death of Dieudonné Brouwers

Following closely the death of Mons. Edouard Poncelet and Prof. Joseph Cuvelier, Belgium has lost another eminent historian and archivist, Dr. Dieudonné Brouwers, who died on 8 November 1948. Dr. Brouwers served the Belgian archives for a period of more than forty years. Before his retirement he rose to the position of the Archivist General of the Kingdom which he held from 1936 to 1939.

Dr. Brouwers was born on 21 September 1874. He took Ph.D. in History in 1896 from the University of Liège and a year later he passed the examination for Archivist-Candidate. He was appointed to a vacancy in the State Archives of Liège in 1898. In May 1906, Dr. Brouwers was transferred as Keeper of the State Archives at Namur. After he had spent about 30 years there he was selected to fill the post of the Archivist General of the Kingdom on the retirement of Joseph Cuvelier in December 1935.

Dr. Brouwers' short period of stewardship in Brussels was marked by two important innovations. The establishment of the Archival Museum was mainly due to his efforts and he was responsible for making of photographic copies of all records prior to 1600 in date.

These copies were made available at provincial archival repositories and at the universities to help the research students.

Dr. Brouwers was one of the foremost historians of Belgium and published several research papers and monographs. He had special predilection for the study of social and economic aspects of Belgian history.

GERMANY

Discovery of important Documents

"Unesco World Review" says in its issue of 27 August 1949, that valuable documents and letters written by famous men such as Calvin, Luther, Melanchthon, Copernicus and Lucas Cranach have recently been discovered in the ancient imperial city of Goslar in Northern Germany. Two hundred tons of historical documents covering six centuries of history and comprising 4,500 parchment manuscripts have been collected under the supervision of the British occupation forces. They include the archives of the Order of Teutonic Knights (1190-1526) and those of the ancient Dukedom of Prussia as well as correspondence between the Kings of Spain, France, England, Denmark and Sweden, archives from the Vatican and the various church synods.

The collections of the Preussische Staatsbibliothek at Berlin which were recovered from the American zone after the war have been deposited at the Westdeutsche Bibliothek at Marburg. These comprise about half of the original Berlin collections. Most of these were found in a potash mine near Hersfeld (Hessen).

ITALY

The 'Columbus' International Exhibition

In celebration of the V centenary of the birth of Columbus an exhibition sponsored by the Tourist Bureau of Genoa with the collaboration of the 'Centre for studies on Columbus' of the same city will be held in Genoa from June to October 1951. The 'Columbus Exhibition' will be international in character and its aim is to make known Spain's share in the first discovery and colonization of American land and the part played by other European nations; and the contribution of navigators, explorers and scholars of various countries in making the new world known.

The Exhibition will comprise of:

1. Documents from archives (originals or photostats);
2. Various manuscripts and rare prints (originals or copies);
3. Nautical instruments of the XV century and the beginning of the XVI (originals or models);
4. Reproductions, in models or photographs, of ships and barges;
5. Portraits, paintings on various subjects, statues, monuments, numerous carvings etc., relating to Christopher Columbus and

- members of his family, Paolo Dal Pozzo Toscanelli, Amerigo Vespucci, Giovanni and Sebastiano Caboto, Giovanni da Verrazzano and other navigators, and land explorers and scholars on various subjects (geographers, naturalists, historians, etc.) besides cartographers, designers, historians of the last decade of the XV century and first seven decades of the XVI ;
6. Cartographical demonstrations in black and colour, sketches of Christopher and Bartholomew Columbus, marine charts, planispheres and globes, etc. ;
 7. Books published after 1891 relating to Christopher Columbus and the first discovery of America ;
 8. Various publications, mostly of the XV and XVI centuries including books on voyages.

The exhibition will be organized by Professors Paolo Revelli of the Genoa University (President of the Genoese Centre for Studies on Columbus) and Orlando Crosso, Director of the Bianco and Rosso Palaces Galleries and its venue will be San Giorgio Palace. Recent publications mentioned at (7) will be catalogued in one volume to be called "Columbus Bibliography, 1892-1950". This work has been undertaken by the Genoa Centre for Studies on Columbus and the Centre will also publish with foreign collaboration "Studi Columbiani" (Studies on Columbus).

NEW ZEALAND

The Dominion Archives

Among the recent acquisitions of the Dominion Archives of New Zealand are about 200 volumes of papers transferred from the Government House. These documents containing the original correspondence between the Secretary of State for Colonies and early Governors and other officials for 1840-1900, are of great value for study of the early history of New Zealand. Other records which have recently been placed in the custody of the Dominion Archivist include army archives relating to Maori Wars. The Archivist has also been authorized to take over the records of the Colonial Secretary's Office which was the predecessor of the Internal Affairs Department.

PRESERVATION AND PHOTOGRAPHIC

New Machine for Disinfecting Books

According to a report appearing in the *Library Journal* of 15 October 1949, a French firm (Book Disinfecting, 28 rue Moyenne, Bourges Cher, France) has offered a new device for disinfecting books. It is claimed that the machine permits making the disinfecting of books effective and inexpensive. Bactericidal gas is used in the process and there is automatic provision for turning the pages,

Bug-proofing Books

PATRA, a British research organization has published the findings of its entomologist, Dorothy M. Evans, regarding the protection of books against insects especially in tropical climates. As many common binding materials offer food to insects, Evans recommends the use of nylon threads, synthetic adhesives, and book cloths made of synthetic materials or plastic treated fabrics. As repellents, she suggests a mixture of methylated spirit, mercuric chloride and beechwood creosote brushed on the book and its case and copper sulphate added to the water used in conjunction with paste and glue. (*Book Binding and Book Production*, June 1950).

Adhesive for book labels

The United States Government Printing Office has announced the development of an effective adhesive (du Pont's Heat Seal Lacquer 6340) for book labels which should be of great use both in record offices and libraries. The adhesive is applied to the back of sheets of labels by means of a Potdevin bench gluing machine, on which the sheets are placed on a moving conveyor belt where the adhesive is rapidly dried. The labels are then cut on a die punching machine. These labels may be applied to such materials as paper, leather, starch-filled book cloth and buckram by the application of heat (approximately 200°F) and pressure with a hot flat iron or patch welder.

Perfect Binding—A New Development

The technique of book production may undergo a great change with the development of a new adhesive for use in perfect binding. This technique of book binding known for many years as *perfect flush* or *flexible* binding consists of reducing the text of the book to single leaves and fastening of these leaves together with an adhesive. This method has not been much used so far in book production because of the defective adhesives which were available in the market. The new adhesive which has been found very suitable for perfect binding consists of synthetic rubber and poly-vinyl acetate. It is easily available and is cheap. The loading, flexing and accelerated ageing tests carried out by two scientists of the American Bureau of Standards (reported in the *Library Journal*, 15 June 1948) show that the binding done with the adhesive is unaffected by bacteria, fungus, changes of temperature within a reasonable range, does not age and is highly flexible. Similar tests have also been carried out in England (*Library Association Record*, October 1949) and perfect binding with the new adhesive has proved to be stronger than the traditionally hand-sewn books. There is also a great deal of saving in time and binding material in application of the perfect technique and it is regarded as quite suitable for library use.

The adhesive can be used on all kinds of paper except art and India paper but it is most effective with medium weight lightly calendared paper of the type used for printing of most of the books of these days.

Mould growth in a Dry Book Store

It is known that leather will not normally grow mould if it is stored in a dry atmosphere, i.e., one of which the relative humidity is under 68 per cent. An example was, however, observed recently by Messrs. R. F. Innes and A. J. Musgrave in which mould was seen to be growing on some of the books stored in the basement store of a London Library, the atmosphere of which was dry.

Inspection of the store showed it to be unventilated and fitted with a steel door. The temperature was 62°F, maintained during the day by hot water pipes, which were turned off at night and at week-ends. The relative humidity (R.H.) was found to be 56 per cent at the end of the day, rising to 64 per cent the next morning. Both these humidities are below the critical figure for mould growth, that is, such an atmosphere can be regarded as dry and normally likely to prevent mould growth. A recording hygrograph showed dry conditions over a period of some weeks.

A significant observation suggested a possible cause of the mould growth: the shelves were of enamelled steel, the ends consisting of rather massive cast iron decorative pieces. A book which was placed near an end, but not in contact with it, showed mould growth, the pattern of which was identical with the decorative pattern of the cast-iron end. This observation suggested that, in the absence of any ventilating air current, the iron work caused local lowering of temperature producing pockets of air with R.H. above the critical figure of 68 per cent, thus producing conditions favourable to the growth of the mould. The mould growing on the book was inoculated on to wort agar and identified as a species of *penicillium* (biverticillate). The cement floor and brick walls were found to be dry, and the remedies recommended were the maintenance of gentle warmth at night, together with a slow circulation of air by means of appropriately placed fans.

(Note by R. F. Innes and A. J. Musgrave contributed to the Council of British Leather Manufacturers' Research Association. Reproduced from the *Library Association Record*, July 1949).

Fire Resistant Document Containers

The National Archives of United States of America has recently developed a record container which combines in itself the qualities of an ideal box namely low cost, light weight, durability, imperviousness to dust and dirt and reasonable degree of protection against fire, heat and water. The cardboard containers which are in use in many

record offices have most of the desirable characteristics of an ideal container but they are deficient in fire resistance and water resistance. After a long period of research at the National Archives it has been found that a cardboard document container, the inner and outer surfaces of which are clad with aluminium foil, is as effective a fire resistant as steel boxes and also gives adequate protection against water. The National Archives is now using several thousand of these boxes and is collecting data as to their durability and performance in every day use.

The new container will, however, afford a limited amount of protection and it will not eliminate the need for other fire protecting measures. It will be useful to the extent of preventing serious damage to records if a fire is quickly detected and extinguished.

Shelving of an Aluminium Alloy.

An interesting report by W. Ogwen Williams (*Archives*, No. 2) explains how a new shelving industry has developed as a result of the establishment of a County Record Office in Caernarvonshire. In 1947 after Mr. Williams took over charge of the records of the County, he found the shelves in the Record Office—an old prison—to be totally unsuitable. Since the old shelves were made of poor quality wood which was also highly combustible and were generally insecure, it was thought desirable to replace them immediately. At this time a local aircraft factory had closed down and was selling the material it had used for building aircraft which, it was thought, might prove suitable for making shelves. This material is an alloy of aluminium, containing one per cent silicon and $\frac{3}{4}$ of one per cent magnesium. It looks like steel and “its resistance to atmospheric corrosion is described authoritatively as good, its ultimate tensile stress in tons per square inch is given as 20, and its melting-point is stated to be 1200°F”. Its other advantages as material for archive shelving are high resistance to corrosion, lightness in weight, cleanness in appearance and its being fire-proof. After some experimental shelves were produced and found admirably suitable for archive purposes, the County Record Office of Caernarvonshire placed orders for shelving for four of the record rooms with “The Firs Engineering Company”, the business house which was floated for this purpose only. The new shelving was installed by Easter 1948 and “the general effect of cleanliness and airiness in such stark contrast to the former wooden structures was startling.” Shortly after the University College of North Wales at Bangor also purchased a large number of shelves for their Library from the same firm. The new industry has come to stay because the shelving made of this alloy has been found admirably suitable for muniment rooms and libraries.

The manufacturing process of this shelving is quite simple and since it is light work it has been found practicable to employ a number of ex-T. B. patients of whom there are a large number in Caernarvon and the neighbouring districts. The shelving is of open type and the

standard model is 7 ft. 1 inch in height, 3 or 4 ft. in width and 10 inches in depth. Variations in these specifications can, of course, be made according to individual requirements of each repository. The construction is quite strong, a 3 to 4 ft. span can easily hold a row of files fully loaded 10 inches deep. A unit of standard shelving described above costs about £17 and the manufacturers are said to be in a position to supply within eight weeks from the receipt of orders.

Portable Microfilmer

A portable microfilmer weighing only 18 pounds has been announced by the Migel Distributing Company Inc. 118E-25th Street, New York 10, N.Y. It can be packed in a case 18" long, 15½" wide and 6½" deep and this includes everything an operator needs for copying materials on standard 35mm. film. The unit includes a reader head which takes the place of camera. The microfilmer is especially adopted for copying blue prints. There are also adaptations for copying outsize materials. Price: \$ 179.50.

BOOK REVIEWS

East Indiamen: The East India Company's Maritime Service, by Sir Evan Cotton, C.I.E., edited by Sir Charles Fawcett. (London, The Batchworth Press, 1949, pp. 218).

THIS book represents an unusually felicitous blending of the work of author and editor. Thanks to the skill of Sir Charles Fawcett, the late Sir Evan Cotton's essay on the Honourable Company's maritime service in the late eighteenth century has been turned into a careful survey of this whole subject during the age of sail. The most valuable chapters are those on the men and their ships, life on board, and the common sailors' conditions of service. The treatment of voyages and captains' careers ashore suffers somewhat from a confusing array of statistical and genealogical details not uniformly arranged in chronological order. Although a study of the notes shows him to be fully aware that the ownership of each Indiaman was divided among several persons, Sir Charles Fawcett has not clearly brought out this point in the text. He also leaves the impression that East India captains and officers used all their 'privilege' of private trade themselves, homeward as well as outward. The fact is that much of this 'privilege', especially that of the lower ranks, was sold to others. By the end of the eighteenth century, very little of the homeward 'privilege' actually belonged to the officers of the ships which carried it.

In a brief chapter on the Company's flag, Sir Charles Fawcett has wisely refrained from postulating a connection between the Company's striped flag and the American flag. Without further evidence, judgement must remain suspended on this fascinating subject. Certain American writers have no doubt been wrong in saying that the Company's flag was seen in American harbours. This flag of thirteen alternate red and white stripes with the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew in the canton could not legally be worn above the latitude of St. Helena. It does not follow, however, that its design was unknown in the American colonies. There must have been many colonial seamen who had seen the flag. Moreover there were certainly a few persons resident in the colonies in the 1770's who had lived in India at one time or another in their careers. Nevertheless, no evidence has yet appeared definitely to establish any connection between the two flags. This book with a colour plate of the Company's flags in the frontispiece will serve a useful purpose in making their design and the remarkable resemblance to the stars and stripes more widely known. Sir Evan Cotton's interest in his hobby in the midst of a busy life as barrister, editor, and legislator in Bengal and London coupled with Sir Charles Fawcett's researches at the former India Office have given us a definitive essay on the Company's maritime service enlivened by many delightful anecdotes of life at sea in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

HOLDEN FURBER

Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, edited by Surendranath Sen, Indian Record Series (New Delhi, National Archives of India, 1949, pp. LXIV + 432, 20 illustrations and 3 maps; Price, Rs. 20/-).

PHOENIX-LIKE the new Indian Records Series arises from the ashes of its precursor, which came to an end nearly forty years ago. Comparison of this first volume's physical attributes with those of the old series issued in 1905-1913 is highly creditable to the newcomer. Despite current difficulties of production, which in India are certainly not less formidable than elsewhere, we have an honest, solid book of some 500 pages, well bound, clearly printed on durable paper, with illustrations printed from adequate half-tone blocks. It is only when we come to the maps of itineraries that the standard is inferior, and it is to be hoped that it may be possible to draw upon the abundant resources of the Survey of India as they may be required for future volumes in this series. Much care has evidently been devoted to layout and presswork: the printers, the Sri Gouranga Press of Calcutta, deserve honourable mention.

Dr. Surendranath Sen, general editor of the resuscitated series, has fittingly been chosen as editor also of its first representative. The texts are those of the third parts of:

- (i) the travels of Jean de Thevenot (1633-1667),
first published in English in 1687, and
- (ii) the travels of Giovanni Careri (1651-1725),
first published in English in 1704.

Both translations have been checked and where necessary corrected (in the notes) by Professor J. D. Ward of Lahore. De Thevenot was a French explorer of independent means, who travelled from choice. Careri, a Neapolitan lawyer, went abroad to seek the peace which he could not find in his family circle: perhaps the ultimate origin of his book lay in a nagging wife. Both travelled far and wide, but the present volume is concerned only with what they put on record about the East Indies.

In the sub-continent, de Thevenot landed at Surat early in 1666, made a trip to Ahmedabad and Cambay, and then another across the Deccan peninsula to Masulipatam by way of Burhanpur, Aurangabad, Golkonda and Ellora (where he spent only a couple of hours but was the first European to describe the caves). He stayed just over a year in India, Ahmedabad being his furthest point north and Masulipatam his furthest south. Careri after coast-wise journeys touching at Daman, Bassein and elsewhere disembarked at Goa in February 1695 and went north-east to Galgali on the Kistna, returning via Belgaum to his port of entry in the following May. The high-light of this not very lengthy journey was his visit to the court and camp of Aurangzeb; and his account of this is perhaps the most important part of the whole book. He had private audience of the emperor, whom he describes as "of a low Stature, with a large Nose, Slender, and stooping with Age. The

whiteness of his round Beard was more visible on his Olive colour'd Skin".

Like other travellers past and present, these two padded out their narratives quite extensively. De Thevenot treats of Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Sind and many other places, not so much from hearsay as by copying from Tavernier and Bernier. Careri confined his plagiarism to accounts of historical and administrative matters, and in general refrained from writing about places and things that he had not seen. Neither, it must be confessed, had the *blague* of a Coryat, the charm of a della Valle, or the vividness of a Manucci; and so neither can claim a place in the first rank of European travellers in the East Indies. But, we think, they have a respectable position in the second rank, a position that will be rendered more secure by the work now under review.

It remains to comment on the presentation of the text by the Editor. It is unnecessary here to state his pre-eminent qualifications for the editorship of this volume. A full and valuable *apparatus criticus* is provided: many hundreds of apt and illuminating terminal notes, with a bibliography and itineraries. (Dr. Sen is also a distinguished amateur of natural history and in particular of ornithology, as for example the learned note, on page 360, on the black-boned pullet testifies). In an admirable Introduction which takes the form of a critical essay on the early European travellers in India, he provides the full background against which de Thevenot and Careri must be viewed. With respect, we must, however, take exception to the manner in which the terminal notes are numbered, each chapter's notes being in a separate numerical series. Thus (as both texts are divided first into Parts, then into Books, and finally into Chapters numbered afresh in each Book), a note has to be cited cumbrously as "Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. II, Ch. I, Note 28". How much simpler would it have been if the notes had been numbered pagewise, and cited simply as "p. 283, n. 4"!

The advance-guard of the new Series must be adjudged to have set a shining example. May we express the hope that the new Vice-Chancellor's onerous duties will not prevent him from continuing as general editor, or at least from exercising a degree of sponsorship for the volumes to come?

H. BULLOCK

The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the close of the Seventeenth Century as described by Joseph Pitts, William Daniel and C. J. Poncet, edited by Sir William Foster, (London, The Hakluyt Society, 1949; pp. XL + 192; Price, One Guinea).

THE Century Volume of the Second Series of Hakluyt Society publications is a reprint of three different accounts of the countries

adjacent to the Red Sea as recorded by three different travellers who visited these parts at approximately the same time. That none of the three journeys were undertaken for pleasure or with the object of exploring unknown lands does not detract from the interest or accuracy of the narratives. Two of the three authors, Joseph Pitts and William Daniel, were Englishmen and the third, Charles Jacques Poncet, was a French physician. Joseph Pitts was captured by an Algerian corsair at the age of fifteen and sold as a slave. He accompanied his Muslim master on a voyage of pilgrimage from Algeria to Mecca and back in 1685 and some years later (after his escape from captivity) returned to England and published the story of his travels. William Daniel was commissioned by the 'London' East India Company to carry its despatches to India by the overland route by way of Syria and the Persian Gulf. He undertook to perform this task in a period of four months, but owing to a series of mishaps the project had to be abandoned. Daniel left London on May 4, 1700, but by the time he arrived at Mocha, a port near Aden, it was already September 13. The Indian ships he expected to find there had already departed and as there was no prospect of another boat for several months he entrusted the despatches to a trader and returned home. A short and somewhat sketchy narrative of his journey and the hardships he encountered on the way was published in 1702. Monsieur Poncet, M.D., was a French physician and apothecary practising at Cairo towards the close of the XVIIth century. In 1698 an agent of the Emperor of Abyssinia arrived in Cairo to procure the services of a competent physician for the monarch who was suffering from a troublesome disease. The agent who was the victim of the same malady became Poncet's patient and was speedily cured. Thereupon Poncet was prevailed upon to make the journey to Abyssinia and treat the Emperor. The party travelled by boat up the Nile as far as Asyut. Then through the desert to Moscho on the Nile, through Dongola, Sennar and finally reached Gondar, the capital of Abyssinia. Here the doctor stayed for some months and succeeded in completely curing the Negus. He left Gondar in April 1700 and returned to Cairo *via* Massawa and the Red Sea—a safer and a pleasanter route than the one by which he had come. An English translation of the account written by Poncet was published in 1709 and this has now been reprinted.

Although the three narratives have an individuality and interest of their own it is instructive to read them together and compare them. All three travellers speak of the conditions prevailing in the countries around the Red Sea at about the same moment of history. Two of them viz., Daniel and Poncet actually met at Jidda and spent a fortnight together. All three made lengthy voyages in native crafts and suffered the resulting inconveniences and hardships. The three accounts taken together provide a striking picture of this geographical area.

Pitts passed through Alexandria and Cairo. He has given a vivid account of these cities and of the Nile. He mentions a somewhat

unusual method of hunting wild ducks: "Someone that can swim and dive very well takes the head of a dead duck and swims with it in his hand ; and when he comes pretty near the ducks he dives, holding the duck's head just above the surface of the water, till he comes to the ducks, and then takes hold of them by the legs, and so catches them."

At Cairo the chickens were hatched in the following manner: "They have a place underground, not unlike an oven, the bottom of which is spread all over with straw, on which they lay some thousands of eggs, close one by the other ; which, without the warmth of the hens or any other prolific heat but that of the sun, dung and such ignite particles as the earth may afford, are brought to life."

Pitts' narrative contains a long and detailed account of Mecca and the pilgrims assembled there. His plan of the "Temple of Mecca" has been included in the book.

The importance of Daniel's narrative lies in the hardships and dangers which a traveller had to undergo in making a journey along the coast of Arabia or in sailing down the Red Sea. Bandits, the greed of local officials, the difficulties of negotiating a native craft in the treacherous coastal waters occasioned painful and annoying delays. All these were later experienced and vividly described by Sir Richard Burton.

Poncet's account of Abyssinia and the Court of the Negus is vivid and rich in details of local colour. "The Emperor calls himself Jesus. Altho' he be not above one and forty years old, yet he has already a numerous issue. He has eight princes and three princesses. The Emperor has great qualities—a quick and piercing wit (i.e., intelligence), a sweet and affable humour, and the stature of a hero. He is the handsomest man I have seen in Æthiopia. He is a lover of curious arts and sciences ; but his chief passion is for war. He is brave and undaunted in battles, and always at the head of his troops. He has an extraordinary love for justice, which he administers to his subjects with great exactness ; but whereas he is averse to blood, 'tis not without reluctance that he condemns a criminal (to death). Such eminent qualities make him equally fear'd and belov'd by his subjects, who respect him even to adoration."

Poncet noticed that there was very little crime in Æthiopia, bars of salt were used for small money, white men particularly the Portuguese were greatly disliked and the Muslims in the country were looked down upon. The inhabitants were mostly Christians ; raw meat served with pepper and spices was considered a very choice dish. These and other details enliven the remarkable account of the French physician.

The historical material provided by these narratives is admirably edited by the scholarly hand of Sir William Foster who has also written an excellent introduction to the volume.

Historical Records of the Survey of India, Vol. II, 1800-1815 by R. H. Phillimore, C.I.E., D.S.O. (Dehra Dun, Survey of India, 1950, pp. XXVIII+478, maps and illustrations, Price, Rs. 20/- or £1. 11s.).

THIS is the second volume of a series that will give a full account of the survey and mapping of India up to the middle of the nineteenth century.

Colonel Phillimore has gathered most of his material from the original records of the Department, and from government record offices in London and all parts of India. He quotes freely from correspondence and journals that have never before been published.

His first volume which took the story to 1800 tells of the work of the first surveyors, traversing along roads and rivers with simple instruments and occasional astronomical observations. Work had in general to be confined to the limits of the Company's territories, and such methods could give no accurate results. The maps were admittedly better than nothing, but there were vast blank areas which could not be visited.

During the period 1799 to 1806, wars with Tipu of Mysore and with the Marathas opened up large areas to the Company's surveyors, and brought special opportunity to two great men.

William Lambton, of His Majesty's 33rd Foot, had only just come to India after many years quiet study of scientific surveying, mathematics, and geodesy, and lost no time in persuading the Government to let him start a trigonometrical survey of South India of the highest possible accuracy, with the best instruments he could procure. In addition to providing a sure basis for all other surveys, his great work contributed important data for determining the figure of the earth, and it was his foresight, imagination, and determination, that brought the surveyors of India for many years to the forefront of scientific thought on this subject throughout the world.

Colin Mackenzie was a master of topographical survey, with a genius for organizing, and produced surveys and maps in South India the like of which had never been made before. His first surveys were made without the advantage of Lambton's triangles, but though working independently, they kept in close touch, and together laid the foundations of the modern geodetic and topographical surveys of India.

In 1815, Mackenzie was appointed Surveyor General of India, as the Court of Directors now realized that survey and map-making over this vast continent should be dealt with as a whole, instead of being left to a separate Surveyor General at each of the three presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay.

Colonel Phillimore describes the many scattered surveys of this period in their historical setting, whether political or military. They include the very important beginnings of professional revenue surveys in Bombay, and some interesting forest surveys made in the interests of ship building. The latter began in a small way only on the west coast

in 1805 ; and the survey of forests was later to become one of the more important activities of the Department.

Of particular interest to the geographer were the explorations beyond the frontiers and into the Himalaya mountains: to Gangotri, the source of the Ganges at the mythical Cow's Mouth, and the sacred lake of Manasarowar beyond the great snow range. Adventurous surveyors explored routes through Sind, Baluchistan and Persia, to discover the nature of the countries that shielded India from the armies of Napoleon Bonaparte.

For the professional surveyor the book should do much to help him to maintain a balanced standard of values. Now-a-days when organisational and administrative problems tend to keep the experienced survey officer more and more tied to his desk, it is salutary to be reminded that William Lambton started the great work of his life at an age when many men would now consider themselves too old for the rigorous life of a geodetic observer. It should also remind the modern surveyor that the hardships he may be called upon to undergo in his field work are very small indeed compared to those accepted as the inevitable lot of a surveyor in India a hundred and fifty years ago.

The book is fully documented and indexed. Material for the illustrations has been taken from the vast collection of early maps and surveys still preserved by the Survey of India. There were many artists and good draughtsmen amongst these early surveyors, and much of their work was the more effective for the freedom they were allowed in style and symbol. To illustrate the very interesting biographical notes there are several portraits, some of which are published for the first time.

The book has been made from start to finish by the Offices of the Survey of India at Dehra Dun. Several of the maps have been beautifully printed by the latest colour processes ; and great credit is due to the staff of the printing and map reproduction offices concerned.

We look forward to the appearance of Vol. III which is now in the press.

G. F. HEANEY

The Naval Brigades in the Indian Mutiny, 1857-58, edited by Commander W. B. Rowbotham, R. N., Navy Records Society Publication No. 87 (London, 1947, pp. XV + 332).

THE Navy Records Society was founded in 1893 with the object of printing rare or unpublished works of naval interest. The volume under review is the first publication of the Society devoted entirely to an Indian theme. It deals with the naval operations in the East Indies Division of the East Indies Station in 1857, the main features being the Royal Navy's important role in the suppression of the Indian Mutiny. The ships whose crew were employed in this work were the *Shannon*, *Pearl* and *Pelorus*. The documents forming the text of the volume

have been selected from among the Admiralty Records at the Public Record Office, London, and the Military Despatches relating to the Mutiny at the Commonwealth Relations Office, formerly India Office.

The employment of seamen in times of crisis on land for military operations is of old origin and several instances can be given even in recent history when crews of naval vessels have been used for duties which usually are performed by the army. When the rebellion spread rapidly in 1857, the British authorities in India were much handicapped for want of sufficient number of European troops. There was also great deficiency in heavy mobile artillery and trained artillerymen. Fortunately for the Indian Government, Lord Elgin who was on a diplomatic mission to China decided to offer to the Governor General on his own responsibility the services of seamen and heavy armament of the *Shannon* (51 guns) and *Pearl* (21 guns) for suppression of the revolt. This step was fully approved later by the Home Government.

The *Shannon's* Naval Brigade was employed for active fighting immediately after the crew landed at Calcutta. Its first detachment under the command of Captain William Peel, who had already won a Victoria Cross for gallantry in the Crimean War, reached Allahabad on 3 October and its second party arrived there a few weeks later. Delhi had already been recaptured by the British troops but this success had produced no tranquillising result even in the surrounding districts. The new Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin Campbell, was faced at the moment with two baffling problems, the defence of Cawnpore and relief of the Lucknow Residency. The *Shannon's* brigade was primarily heavy artillery and it formed part of the Artillery Division in the forces of Sir Colin Campbell. The members of the Brigade saw a good deal of heavy fighting at close quarters and distinguished themselves in the operations connected with the relief of Lucknow Residency, defence of Cawnpore and the capture of Lucknow. On November 16, 1857, they showed extraordinary gallantry under the command of Captain Peel in the action for the capture of Shah Najif, a large mosque standing near the Residency of Lucknow. The Brigade won four Victoria Crosses on this occasion and the services of Captain Peel were recognized by the award of K.C.B. This gallant officer was seriously wounded later during the operations undertaken for the restoration of peace in Lucknow and his career came to a tragic end at the age of 33½ due to a fatal attack of smallpox in April 1858. The part played by the artillery of the Brigade was one of the major factors which brought success to the British arms in Oudh. Though it formed only a small fraction of the army of over 19,000 men fighting directly under the command of Sir Colin Campbell, its achievements were of unusual importance for the restoration of the British rule in northern India.

The *Pearl's* Brigade did not share in spectacular victories like those of Lucknow and Cawnpore, but it also rendered much good service under very difficult conditions. It formed a part of the Saran Field Force and the area of its operations was to the eastward of the Gogra in

Gorakhpur district. For the first six months these seamen were the only European troops in that area and had to keep a check on the enemy which was greatly superior in numbers. The Brigade suffered a great many hardships because much of its work was undertaken in waterlogged country and during the excessive heat of summer.

The Brigade of the *Pelorus* did not actually participate in the fighting in India, but its employment in Burma during the period of the Mutiny prevented disturbances from breaking out in the newly annexed territory where the English forces were far below the required strength.

Commander Rowbotham has contributed an excellent Introduction to the volume which makes the understanding of the documents easy. It contains a lucid account of various engagements in which the Naval Brigades took part and the Editor has rightly avoided to make it into a general history of the Mutiny. He has made use of a variety of sources including private papers in supplementing the information available in official records.

Among several appendices the one containing transcripts of a collection of letters of Lt. Nowell Salmon of the *Shannon* to his family is of special interest. Lt. Salmon won a Victoria Cross in the action of Shah Najif and later rose to the position of Admiral of the Fleet. The letters reprinted here give an account of his personal experiences in the Naval Brigade from the time the *Shannon* left England until the capture of Lucknow, and are particularly remarkable for their accuracy.

The publication is a valuable addition to the literature on the Indian Mutiny, an event of unique importance in the annals of British India.

V. C. JOSHI

Local History—Its Interest and Value: (Lincoln, Lincolnshire Local History Society. 2nd Edition, 1949, pp. 1-52 ; Price, 1s. 6d.).

LOCAL history ought to be a source of perennial interest not only to the local inhabitants but also to the nation at large, because, though a minor cog, it is a highly important one in the intricate machinery of modern national history. The Lincolnshire Local History Society, originally designated the Lindsey Local History Society because of its limited scope of work, has indeed been doing useful work by endeavouring to foster among the gentry of the shire a constructive interest in local history. The extended activities of the Society have necessitated a corresponding change in its name.

This attractive little hand-book is the second edition of one published seventeen years ago ; but, as the publishers truthfully maintain, "the views expressed therein are as sound to-day as they were when first written". Mr. Lee in his breezy article, which incidentally furnishes the name for the publication, holds and rightly so, that every parish, every village, every landscape, and every mound has a vivid story to

relate, which when discovered and recorded, will fill a hiatus in national history with far-reaching results.

The second article details valuable suggestions, alike to school-children and experienced scholars, for conducting research in local history, which will tend to bring history out of the text books and the class-room into the world of reality. Modern educational theory and practice are at one in favour of the child doing things for himself, and the late Canon C. W. Foster by his suggestions, teachings and advice has provided a timely impetus to that urge so innate in every human soul. The author enumerates valuable hints on how to proceed with the writing of an accurate parochial history. Apart from consulting parish records, one is advised to read all available printed books in order to obtain the correct perspective of the subject. 'This having been completed the Canon suggests the study of manuscript source materials in the local repositories such as the Diocesan Registry, and also envisages a visit to the British Museum and the Public Record Office, London.

The activities of the Society since its inception are also briefly dwelt upon. Good results have been achieved in the fields of writing local history, supplementing the work of the Diocesan Record Office and the local Archives Committee, and anticipating the preparation of the Lincoln portion of the National Register of Archives of the U.K. The final part of the pamphlet consists of notes on the principal printed sources for the history of churches and incumbents in Lincolnshire and lastly is added a select bibliography, again solely for the student of Lincolnshire history.

This hand-book is a living negation of that hackneyed phrase 'narrow parochial outlook' inasmuch as we are glad to recommend it to our readers as an example to be followed for writing local histories and thus providing the basis for a true national history.

DHANWANTI G. KESWANI

The Lincolnshire Historian, No. 5 (Lincoln, Lincolnshire Local History Society, Spring, 1950).

AS the title suggests *The Lincolnshire Historian*, the new official organ of the Lincolnshire Local History Society, till lately known as *The Lincolnshire Magazine*, has been the medium of publication of findings of Local Historians intended for the perusal of the general public at home and abroad. This little pamphlet is the fifth number of the magazine and includes three very thought-provoking articles on Lincolnshire History.

The first writing in this issue is the concluding portion of Mr. C. W. Phillip's "Field Archaeology in Lincolnshire", an erudite exposition of how to reconstruct history scientifically from archaeological remains. The writer has selected Lincolnshire for his field of work. The memorials, the monuments, the cemeteries, ancient pottery

and ancient weapons are living evidence of an old civilization, and it is remains like these that help to bridge historical gaps. A chance excavation may revolutionize our historical knowledge of a place and help to unravel the mysteries which baffled our brains hitherto. The author has tackled the archaeological remains admirably and helped to a great extent to chronicle the cloudy history of England, six hundred years from the first English Settlement in Britain to the coming of William the Conqueror, with special reference to Lincolnshire History.

Mr. F. W. Brooks suggests a very practical solution, may-be hobby, for those local history enthusiasts who have amassed a fund of historical knowledge but lack the interpretation of it. He advises them to indulge in the compilation of mediaeval atlases and maps. This suggestion is well worth a trial considering how ill-supplied we are in this respect at the moment.

In his scholarly paper "The Early Monastic Contribution to Medieval Farming" Mr. L. J. C. Day has successfully illustrated that monastic farming of the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries was a powerful influence in shaping the mediaeval farming system.

The pamphlet includes, as is usual with publications of this type, a few reviews of publications on different aspects of Lincolnshire History.

For the student interested in Lincolnshire History, the issues of this magazine will provide a fund of novel and fascinating information hitherto unknown. It will certainly be worth his while to watch out for future issues of this journal whose sole aim is to enlarge the field of knowledge of Local History.

DHANWANTI G. KESWANI

Maps: Their Care, Repair and Preservation in Libraries by Clara Egli LeGear (Washington, Library of Congress, 1948, pp. X + 46 litho-printed).

THIS manual, issued as a preliminary draft for eliciting suggestions and criticism, embodies the experiences, for more than half a century, of the Maps Division of the Library of Congress regarding the care and preservation of their rich collection of maps, atlases and other cartographic materials. The author who holds the Chair of Geography at the Library has also included in her work the discussion of some practices prevalent in other institutions interested in preserving map collections, such as the National Archives of the United States and the American Geographical Society. The Library of Congress has a separate Map Room since 1 November 1897 when its new building was opened and during these years it has developed new techniques for processing, filing and preserving their map collection which now contains more than two million items. The manual thus contains much useful information for both archivists and librarians who happen to have in their custody similar materials.

The administration of a map collection presents problems quite different from those of a book collection and Mrs. LeGear has successfully dealt with them in her work. The list of contents include: (1) preliminary processing, (2) secondary processing, (3) atlases, (4) mounting and reconditioning of maps, (5) map filing equipment and (6) the map room. Each of these subjects has been treated according to its importance in the field and the result is a well-balanced work. The author has devoted considerable space (12 pages) to the chapter on "mounting and reconditioning of maps". This contains the relevant discussion of all the methods so far employed for the preservation of maps and the materials and equipment used for this purpose. The application of lamination process recently developed by the National Archives of U.S.A. for this purpose has also been adequately noticed and its limitations in this field have been specifically pointed out. The section on "filing equipment" contains description of various types of equipment in use in American libraries to emphasize the need for special storage equipment to make maps useful.

The manual also contains a comprehensive and classified bibliography (covering 12 pages) on the subject and this in itself testifies to the great labour the author must have spent on the preparation of this work.

The publication is a significant contribution to the subject of map preservation and custodians of map collections in all countries will profit by its study.

V. C. JOSHI

The Essex Record Office, 1938-1949: A Report Prepared by the County Archivist for the Records Committee of the Essex County Council, Essex Record Office Publication No. 10 (Chelmsford, Essex County Council, 1950, pp. 28).

MR. F. G. EMMISON, County Archivist of Essex, can feel justly proud of the phenomenal growth of the Essex Record Office within a short period of eleven years. Today this Record Office has come to be regarded as a model institution of its kind and this achievement is entirely due to the enthusiasm and expert knowledge of the County Archivist. This pamphlet gives in outline an account of the general organisation and development of the Office from its establishment in 1939 to the end of 1949.

The Essex Record Office was not intended, even at the outset, to be a repository for official records of the County Council only. It was also expected to collect and preserve all available accumulations ecclesiastical, parochial, estate, family and historical documents pertaining to Essex with a view to making them available for research purposes. This comprehensive object has been realized to a great extent through the efforts of the staff of the Office and the willing co-operation of the owners of documents. During the last war which

broke out within a few months of the opening of the Office large accruals of family collections and private archives were received for safe custody by the County Archivist. These valuable papers might have perished but for the care bestowed upon them by him.

The Office came out of the war without any damage to its collections. In the post-war years it has further developed its progressive activities in various directions. The records and manuscripts relating to Essex have been systematically explored and whenever possible have been acquired by it. To facilitate research among its holdings detailed as well as summary catalogues have been prepared and there is no group of records in the Office which does not have at least a summary catalogue. The marked improvement in facilities for research and reference can best be seen in the great increase in the number of students using these archives. During the last quarter of 1949, 739 students consulted the records in the Office whereas the attendance during the first three months of its establishment was 29 only. An outstanding contribution has also been made by the Record Office in the field of education by means of exhibitions, lectures and press articles. The County Records Committee are keen to put to the best possible use its large collections of original materials consistent with their primary duty of preservation.

A perusal of the report will convince the reader that the Essex Record Office has played a significant role in the development of local records administration in the United Kingdom. Its further progress will be watched with interest by archivists in all countries.

V. C. JOSHI

Canada: Report of the Public Archives for the year 1949 by William Kaye Lamb (Ottawa, 1950, pp. XXXIV + 462 ; Price, \$ 1.00).

THIS very voluminous publication actually furnishes a very brief account of the work done in the Public Archives during the year 1949. The major part of the volume, covering about 449 pages, consists of an instalment of exhaustive calendar of Nova Scotia State Papers, which incidentally remain in the custody of the Public Archives. The calendar forms the principal appendix to the Report.

The most important problem which the Public Archives has to face is the question of concentration of all Public Records in one central repository. The present accommodation available for the Dominion Archives being too limited has necessitated their dispersal all over Canada, a situation unfavourable to the administrators as well as research students. An interesting though not entirely original solution for solving the vexing question of the inadequacy of space is the suggestion for establishing "large halfway houses for departmental files, controlled and staffed by the Public Archives but not necessarily situated in downtown Ottawa". Such intermediate record

centres have proved very advantageous in England and America and similar experiments in Canada will be watched with keen interest by all the countries beset with similar problems.

The advent of micro-photography in the field of Archives has revolutionized our age-old concepts regarding record preservation and control. It is with legitimate pride that the Public Archives announces the installation of microfilm equipment to meet its varied requirements.

Records retirement is one of the most important functions of any archival repository worth its name. In this field of work, exceptionally good progress is reported. The list of accessions of the Manuscript Division during the year illustrates the varied and important subjects on which the materials are received in the nation's archives. It is evident from the perusal of the accruals that the Public Archives is planning to establish a comprehensive collection of public and private, official and unofficial papers which will supplement each other and help one to take an objective view of historical events. The Maps Division has been enriched during 1949 by accession of approximately 2,000 maps, charts and plans. To make them fully available for use, the Public Archives is shortly bringing out a new catalogue of map collections in its custody.

The significant increase in the number of researches during the year indicates the awakening interest of the Canadians in their heritage of records.

Canada has indeed taken rapid strides in Archives Administration and further reports of its premier record office will be awaited with interest.

DHANWANTI G. KESWANI



Joseph Cuvelier, 1869—1947

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JOSEPH CUVELIER

THE INDIAN Historical Records Commission rightly decided that a special number of *The Indian Archives* should be dedicated to the memory of Joseph Cuvelier. During the five decades he was associated with the archives offices of his country nobody made more solid contribution to the archives science than Cuvelier. He attacked almost all the problems that confront the modern archivists and invariably found a happy and logical solution.

It was Cuvelier who first reminded the official archivist of his responsibility towards the small archives in private custody. It was he again who pleaded for their concentration. Cuvelier emphasised the need of compiling exhaustive inventories on strictly scientific lines, nor was he indifferent to the need of close coöperation between the archivist and the librarian on the one hand and the archivist and the historian on the other. He rightly recognised that the proper role of the archivist is to open wide the doors of the store house of knowledge of which he was the guardian to all seekers of truth. The archivist he contended was not a mere custodian of musty old records. It was his bounden duty to share his knowledge with others and to make his knowledge readily available to the specialist as well as to the general student. He was not prepared to convert the archives office into a museum open to the idle curiosity of all the passers-by but he strongly advocated the cause of the *bona fide* students whose right of access to the raw materials of history he unreservedly admitted. That led inevitably to another question, a question of highly controversial character. Should or should not an archivist publish the documents in his custody? He started cautiously and began by publishing documentary material alone and he left it to the professional historian to draw from these records such information as they might yield or in

other words he thought that the archivist should remain content with the editing and publication of the source materials but to produce the finished article, to piece together stray information into a connected whole and to reconstruct the story of the past was the duty and privilege of the historian. The orthodox school still holds that preservation and not publication is the real concern of the archivist. Cuvelier soon found that once he launched himself upon the adventurous journey there was no halfway halting house. The archivist more familiar with the documents was probably better qualified to give a scientific account of the evolution of administrative and political institutions with which the documents in his custody were so intimately related. Next he emphasised the need of supplementing the country's archives with those to be found abroad. This again led to the necessity of international coöperation which he ardently championed. But Cuvelier was not satisfied with laying down principles for others, what he preached he practised himself and when he translated his principles into action he did so with unique thoroughness and eminent success.

Joseph Cuvelier was born on May 6, 1869 at Bilsen in the Province of Limburgh. His childhood was marked by an all-embracing curiosity which was at the same time extremely rational and critical. This curiosity took him all over his native place. There was no field, no backyard, no orchard, in and around Bilsen with which Cuvelier was unfamiliar and he was anxious to know something about their past. But even as a child nothing less than documentary evidence would satisfy him and his mother introduced him to the first archives that he was destined to handle, his own family papers enclosed in a box wrapped in paper and carefully tied with a string.

Cuvelier was lucky in his teachers at the University of Liège. He had the privilege of working under the celebrated Godefroid Kurth and no less famous Henri Pirenne. Kurth was highly interested in the new science of toponymy, the study of place names. Cuvelier's early interest in the history of his native place and its immediate neighbourhood converted him into an ardent devotee of the new science and even before he obtained his doctorate he prepared under the inspiration of Kurth an interesting monograph entitled "Historical Study of the town of Bilsen."

It was not until 1894 that Cuvelier got an employment at the state archives of Liège but he had already examined under the direction of Kurth the archives of Convent of Val-Benoit and had commenced a fruitful study of place names in collaboration with his friend Camiel Huysmans. The year of his employment in the Liège archives office

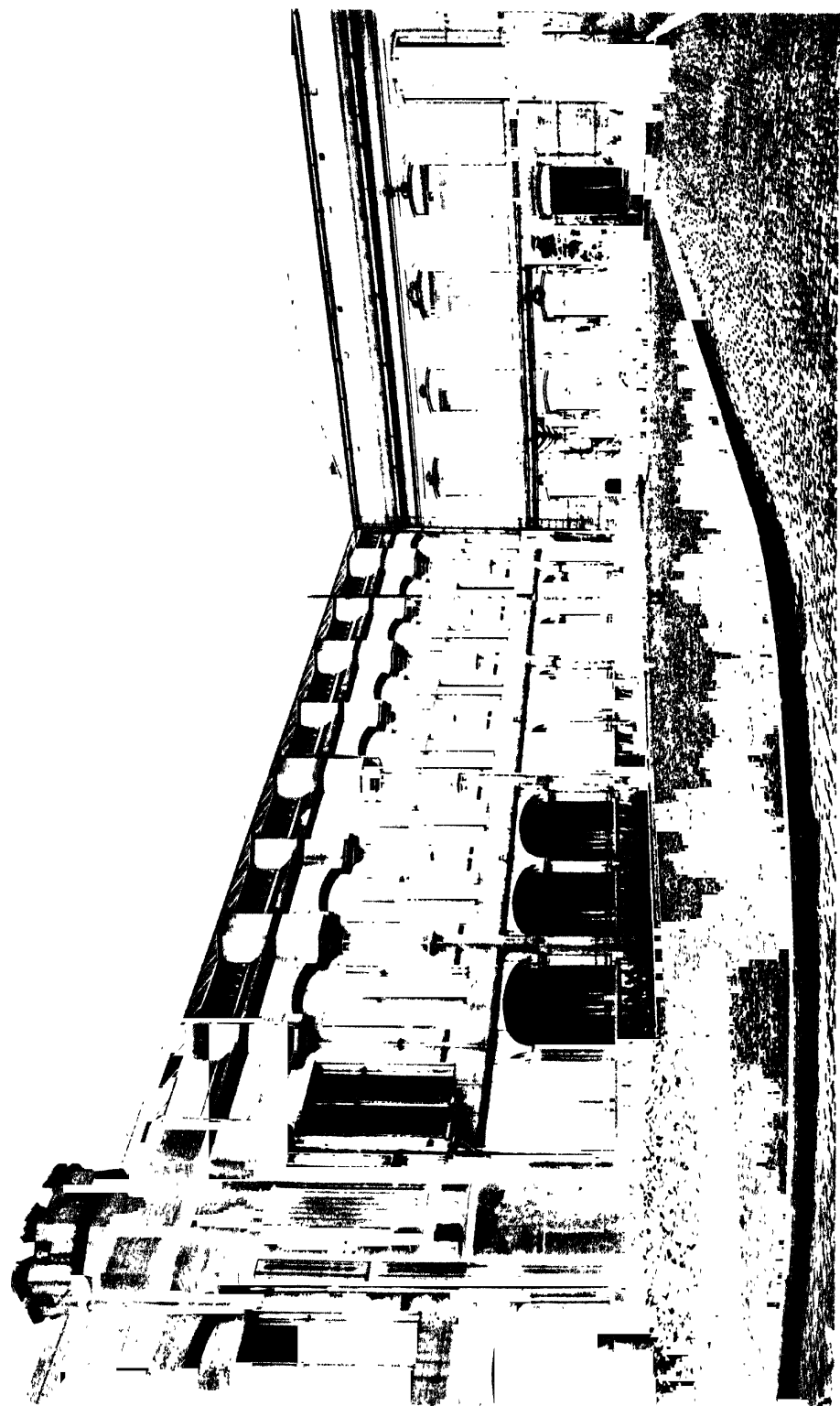
also witnessed their joint publication "A Toponymical Study of Old and New Place Names in the Borough of Bilsen."

Cuvelier was not destined to remain long at Liège. Within two years he went to Bruges as the Joint-Keeper of the Government Archives. In the meantime the Belgian Government had realised that an archives officer must be well-versed in the technique of his science and instituted a preliminary test for all new entrants to the archives office of the State and although Cuvelier, an old employee, was not expected to submit to this test he voluntarily sat for the examination. At a later date he provided for the scientific training of the archives personnel, organised an archives laboratory and recruited chemists for the better organisation of the preservation work. It was at this period that he started the compilation of inventories which earned him a well deserved reputation. He was already familiar with the archives of the Convent of Val-Benoit the major part of which he had himself transcribed and archives of the Chapel of the Holy Blood in Bruges. He naturally devoted himself to the compilation of inventories of these documents. Thus did he direct the attention of his contemporaries to the necessity of bringing the small archives to the notice of the more serious explorers.

In 1900 Cuvelier found himself on the staff of the General Archives of the State at Brussels. Arthur Gaillard, the Archivist-General, was anxious to re-organise the archives in his custody on scientific lines and he had been on the look out for a competent colleague. Highly impressed by one of Cuvelier's articles "Archives and Archivists" published in the *Revue de l'Instruction Publique*, Arthur Gaillard unhesitatingly made his choice and Cuvelier entered into his new duties. The next few years were spent in feverish activities not only in accomplishing the duties for which he had been especially recruited but also in disseminating the new ideas which Cuvelier felt should be clearly enunciated for the benefit of the professional archivists and the professional historians. It was with this end in view that a new journal *Archives et Bibliothèques* was started in collaboration with MM. Stainier and Grojean of the Bibliothèque Royal. It is now generally admitted that in their professional duties the archivist and the librarian have much in common. Both of them cater to a special clientele, both of them strive to make the consultations of printed and manuscript materials in their custody as easy as possible. This explains the need of careful classification and analytical and rational inventories. Throughout his life Cuvelier stood for a close coöperation between the archivists and the librarians on the one hand and the

archivists and the historians on the other. He held at this time that the task of an archivist must exclusively be the preparation of a scientific analysis of records which he was to place at the disposal of historians. It was not for him to reconstruct the past or to write history. Thus did he clearly demarcate and define the respective spheres of the archivist and the historian. But he held that their researches were by no means exclusive of each other but complementary. If, however, the archivist was to do his duty efficiently he could not limit his attention to the achievement of his own country alone. He must keep himself informed about the recent advancements in this science made in other countries with a view to improving the standard of archives administration by exchange of experience with colleagues abroad and critical comparison of methods adopted in other lands. He enunciated these principles with exceptional clarity and force in an article which admittedly forms a landmark in the history of the development of the archives science. The ideas then adumbrated by Cuvelier were a novelty but they form to-day the common creed of archivists all over the world.

Having established the necessity of scientific catalogues of archives material Cuvelier embarked on a more ambitious scheme. If it was the duty of the archivist to make his special knowledge readily accessible to the *bona fide* student of history, it followed that an exhaustive work of ready reference embracing all the private and public archives in the country should be compiled for his benefit. Cuvelier therefore prepared 'an Inventory of Inventories'—a *Catalogus Catalogorum* of the entire second section of the General Archives of the State. It was a stupendous task involving an analysis of 500 inventories, many of them unpublished and most of them dating back to the pre-Revolutionary era. It was a work of undoubted value, for it brought for the first time to the notice of the professional historians many important facts and information hitherto unknown. In 1906 he published his "Cartularies of the Abbey of Val-Benoit" based entirely on his personal studies of the records of that small Abbey. The next year he wrote an article in collaboration with his own teacher Professor Henri Pirenne which clearly defined the lines on which smaller records offices should work. The obvious aim of the article was to ensure that all archival assets in the country whether they relate to villages or small hamlets, hospitals or other charitable institutions, churches, clerical establishments or other records-creating agencies should be readily available to the students of history. These ambitions have not yet been achieved in most of the civilized countries and the archival wealth of a State



Archives General of the Kingdom of Belgium—with the office of the Archivist General in the background



Reading room of the Archives General of the Kingdom—former
Chapel of St. Georges



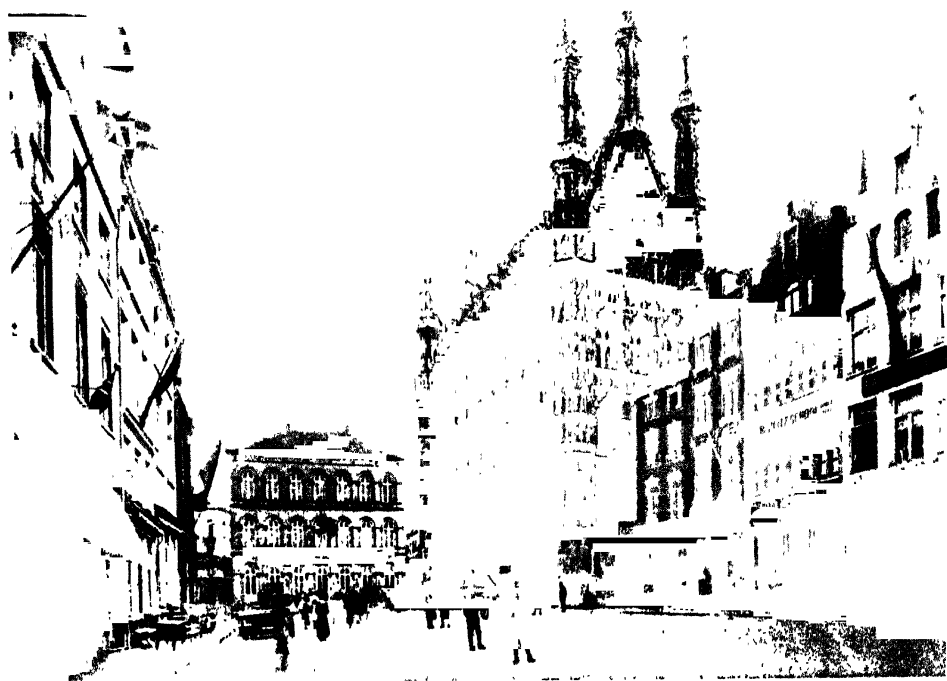
Country house of Joseph Cuvelier



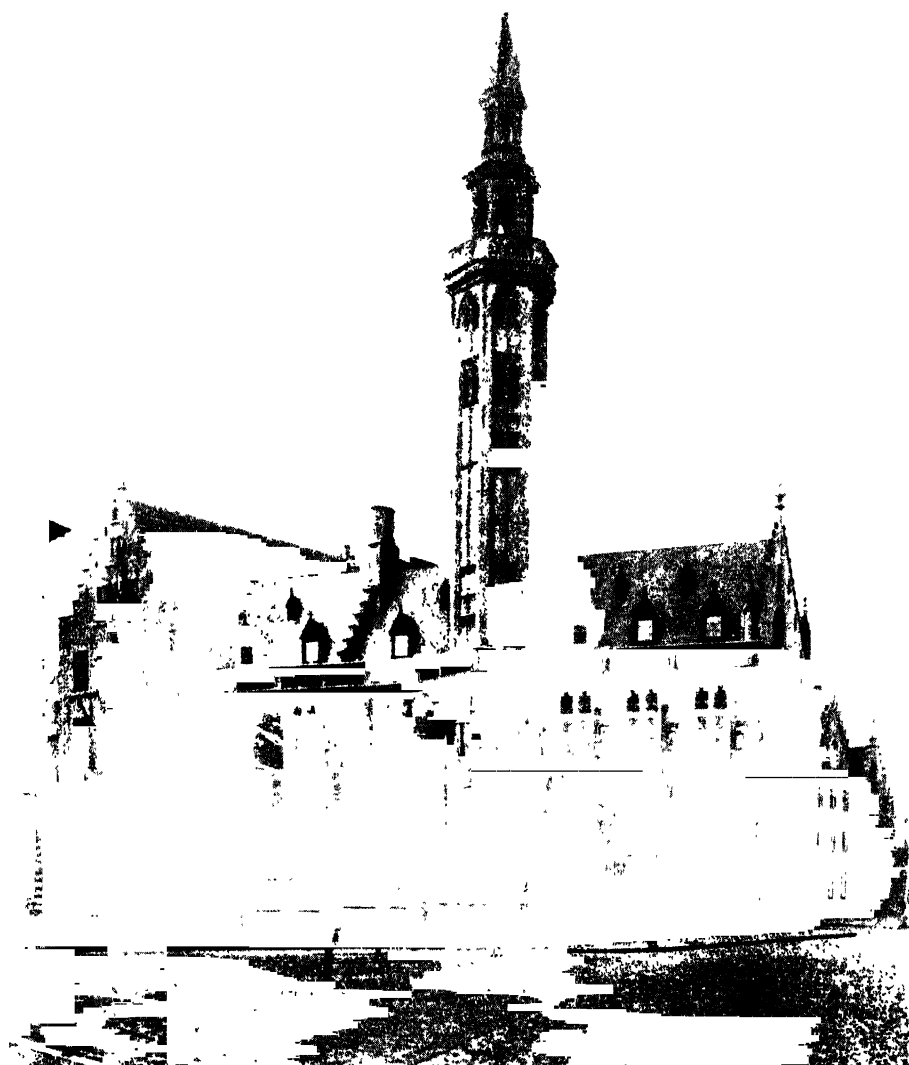
Joseph Cuvelier in his office at Brussels



Provincial Archives of Antwerp



Town Hall of Louvain (the building with spires) where Cuvelier worked



Local Archives of Bruges

Drapeau

A. Guillaume Julius, marchand à Middelbourg en Zélande le homme de 73 l. de 10 tols
 dudit pris à 40 gros qui deus les estoit pour 120 aunes de drap de laine bleu à 7 s. 6 d.
 l'ancien et 120 aunes de blancet à 4 s. 9 d. l'ancien que messieurs a fait prandre
 et acheter de lui et celui donné et fait delivrer pour couvrir les pouffes de deux
 gabeliers de Bourgogne qui Mgr a prais en son service pour en servir sa table avec
 pour un par entaffineurs dudit messieurs Jacques de Montmartin contenant quittance l'acte
 donne de 73 l. 10 s.

A. Jehan Yslants jeune peintre de la troupe de 9 lieues 17 tols 9 deniers dudit pris
 qui deus les estoit pour du commandement à Mgr. pour servir à ses deus et
 couleurs 40 gros prandre à 2 gros de blanches pris fait 46 s. et 20 s. paroz moys
 à 9 d. pris fait 7 l. 13 s. 9 d. qui dudit commandement ont été vers les 40 dudit
 Orsperre à Venise et le reste des esdis 6 autres d'Allemagne pour ce par entaffineurs
 dudit Jacques de la Vère contenant quittance l'acte donne de 9 l. 11 s. 1 d.

Pour 140 aunes prandre pour les couleurs de Mgr avec la croix Saint André Blanche
 la donne de 105 tols dudit pris qui ont été fait et delivrez du commandement à Mgr
 en divers autres autres prais en son service dudit pays de Zélande pour servir en deus
 armée pour un par entaffineurs dudit messieurs Jacques de Montmartin la donne de 105 s.

Pour entaffineurs parties de draps de laine qui Mgr a prandre fait prandre et acheter à Middel-
 bourg en Zélande le homme de 69 l. 13 s. 3 d. dudit pris avec qui il a dudit, assavoir 148
 aunes de drap de laine bleu dont l'on a fait les bandes avec draps blancs de draps blancs qui
 Mgr a prais en son service en Zélande pour lui en servir en deus armée, et 30 aunes de drap de
 laine blanc dont l'on a fait la croix Saint André d'acier l'ancien, assavoir 26 l. de drap bleu
 à 8 l. l'ancien fait 10 l. 12 s. 65 aunes de drap bleu à 8 s. 9 d. l'ancien 18 l. 8 s. 9 d.; Item 19 s. aunes
 de drap bleu à 9 s. l'ancien fait 8 l. 15 s. 6 d.; Item 32 aunes de drap bleu à 8 s. 6 d. l'ancien 13 l. 12 s.

25 l. de drap bleu à 8 s. 6 d. l'ancien 8 l. 10 s. l'ancien
 25 l. de drap blanc à 4 s. 9 d. l'ancien 10 l. 10 s. l'ancien
 25 l. de drap blanc à 4 s. 9 d. l'ancien 10 l. 10 s. l'ancien

25 l. de drap bleu à 8 s. 6 d. l'ancien 8 l. 10 s. l'ancien
 25 l. de drap blanc à 4 s. 9 d. l'ancien 10 l. 10 s. l'ancien
 25 l. de drap blanc à 4 s. 9 d. l'ancien 10 l. 10 s. l'ancien

is in most cases still an unknown quantity. But the clear lead that Cuvelier gave has undoubtedly given a new impetus to the preparation of handlists, catalogues and inventories.

In 1907 mainly through Cuvelier's initiative the Belgian Association of Archivists and Librarians was founded. This was followed in 1910 by the "First International Congress of Archivists and Librarians" at Brussels which was to inaugurate the international coöperation for which Cuvelier had so long pleaded. The same year he translated into French in collaboration with Henri Stein the classical manual on archives compiled by Müller, Feith and Fruin. Cuvelier was already a man of international reputation, a recognised authority on archives science and archives administration, an able exponent of the new ideas of international coöperation in matters archival when he was called upon to succeed his old boss Arthur Gaillard as Archivist-General of the State.

Though his experience was long and wide Cuvelier felt that he should have more intimate knowledge of archive management in other countries before he tried to introduce any new reform. The Belgian Government provided him with the necessary facilities and he visited no less than 22 archives depositories in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. The report that he submitted after the completion of his pilgrimage is a classic in itself and has been translated into a number of languages.¹ It defined finally and authoritatively the role of archives and archivists. But that was not all. It stressed the need of reorganising the Belgian Archives in the light of his new experience. It left no branch of archives administration untouched and had something to say about shelving, arrangement, classification, cleaning and restoration of archives and, last but not the least, archival photography. It was at this time that he arranged for the technical training of his staff and the appointment of a chemist to conduct researches into the methods of archives preservation. The establishment of a laboratory was the natural corollary of the chemist's appointment and in 1914 appeared the first number of the *Annuaire des Archives*, a Yearbook which contained a general survey of the archives in Belgium. The yearbook also published the lists of new acquisitions and Cuvelier did his best to bring under state control and protection the small archives of his country. Thus he undertook the salvage of hitherto neglected local records, for the protection of which he had so ardently pleaded in his early youth.

¹ The Report is reproduced in full in this issue *infra* pp. 235-63.

The war of 1914-1918 naturally enforced a lull in Cuvelier's activities but no sooner peace was restored than he resumed his work with renewed vigour. The period between 1919 and 1926 was marked by incessant literary activities. It was during this period that the first volume of his monumental work, *Correspondence of the Court of Spain on the affairs of the Low Countries in the Seventeenth Century* was published. His other notable publications of this period are: *State Archives in Belgium during the War*, *Report on the Belgian archives preserved in Germany and Austro-Hungary which ought to be brought back*, *Ancient arsenals of Belgium*, *A capitalist of the 14th century*, *Origins of the fortune of House of Orange-Nassau*, *Navigability of the river Scheldt towards the end of the 16th century*, *Two autographs of Albert and Isabella*, *Preliminaries of the Treaty of London*, *A bibliographical note on Charles Hirschauer: the States of Ortois from their origin to the French occupation*, *The Chapel of St. George in Brussels*, *Inventory of documents exhibited at the General Archives of the State*, *Report on the conservation of contemporary archives and those of the Ministerial Departments and Secret correspondence of Infanta Isabella*, to name only a few. Vast as the volume of his published work was his archival activities during this period were no less remarkable. Not only did he succeed in making new acquisitions to the public depositories but he saved for the posterity many of the war documents of which the archives of Sequestration and those of the Comité National de Secours et d'Alimentation deserve special mention. It was during this period also that Cuvelier realised that an archivist could not remain content with the publication of documents alone which form only a skeleton of history. He realised that the archivist had so many initial advantages over the historian due to his intimate knowledge of the entire body of institutional records that it was his duty to go further and he soon proceeded to give practical demonstration of the validity of his belief. In 1932 he had already completed an inventory of 12,000 documents of the archives of City of Louvain. On this solid foundation was based his masterly studies of the history of that city—*Foundation of Louvain* and *Institutions of Louvain during the Middle Ages*. These two volumes at once earned him a place in the front rank of his country's historians. Subsequently followed further works on the same subject. Nor was this all. First as the Secretary and then President of the Belgian Historical Institute of Rome, Cuvelier expanded the scope of the *Analecta Vaticana-Belgica*

and he included in its survey archival material from all centres in Italy without confining himself to the Vatican records alone bearing on Belgium. His duties frequently took him to Italy and each journey brought him into intimate relation with the archivists and historians of small towns. He formally retired from office in December 1935, but in recognition of his valuable work he was immediately appointed Emeritus Archivist General of the State.

When Cuvelier died on the 29th December, 1947 he had practically completed his task. He had brought about the much needed coöperation between the archivist and the historian, between the archivist and the librarian. He had improved archives organisation of his country and established a convenient basis of coöperation among archivists of all lands. Above all he had established as none before him that archives administration was a science and it had a technique of its own. He worked mainly for the improvement of archives administration in his own country but the principles he laid down, the methods he advocated, the theories he enunciated, admit of no national limit or geographical bounds. They are of universal application. Joseph Cuvelier was certainly one of the greatest men the 20th century has produced.

SURENDRANATH SEN

JOSEPH CUVELIER : A TRIBUTE

I CAN flatter myself for having enjoyed the friendship of M. Joseph Cuvelier to whom my attachment was due to the same scientific principles, the same professional activity, and the same ideas that both of us pursued. He was a true master who knew how to inspire his pupils as well as his staff by his own example, instruction and advice. I know what great things he accomplished after his country had been invaded and the country's archives had been thrown into confusion by ignorant and brutal soldiers with or without rank. I know with what energy he succeeded in repairing the damages done and making the archives more known and more accessible to the public. There is, one may say, not even a single item among the main series of records at the General Archives, Belgium, which lacks today its printed inventory. The enormous number of publications brought out by himself or by his colleagues as well as the rapidly increasing number of applicants for the Course of Archive-Economy started by him place Belgium today among the countries most renowned in archival matters.

EUGENIO CASANOVA

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF JOSEPH CUVELIER*

Abbreviations

- R. I. P.: Revue de l'Instruction Publique (Review of Public Instruction).
 R. B. A. B.: Revue des Bibliothèques et Archives de Belgique (Review of Belgian Libraries and Archives).
 Bul. C. R. H.: Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire de Belgique—(Bulletin of the Royal Commission of History of Belgium).
 N. A.: Nederlandsche Archivenblad: (Dutch Bulletin of Archives).
 B. A. A. B. B.: Bulletin de l'Association des Archivistes et Bibliothécaires belges (Bulletin of the Association of Belgian Archivists and Librarians).
 A. R. B.: Académie Royale de Belgique (Royal Academy of Belgium).
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* The titles in Flemish have been provided with a French rendering.

¹ Etude économique et bibliographique.

² Contient la bibliographie des volumes 1 à 30 du *Bulletin de la société littéraire des Melophiles de Hasselt*.

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MOLIERE AND ARCHIVES

ARCHIVISTS (a diminishing company, I am afraid) who like myself can recollect visits to the Archives du Royaume at Brussels which included a call upon Joseph Cuvelier in his Office by the Rue Montagne de la Cour must be glad of an opportunity to recall the friendly welcome that always awaited one, the deaf head bent so carefully to catch what the visitor might have to say, the friendly gossip (in days when international connexions were not what they are now) about recent happenings in our common *métier*, the news of what the Director himself had been doing with some seminar of Students working upon Belgian Archives, and his keen interest in the proceedings of Colleagues in other Countries. Apart from these memories my own thought, when his name is mentioned, goes always to a Lecture he delivered in Brussels (about 1911, I think) which I discovered almost by chance and in which he made what seemed to me a singularly illuminating quotation from the scene in Molière's Play when Monsieur Jourdain, having had the meaning of the word 'Prose' explained to him, discovers to his delight that he has been composing prose all his life without being aware of the fact.¹ It is a slight theme on which to base a note dedicated to the memory of an old friend and colleague and the note will be correspondingly brief: but that need be no disadvantage; and the application given by Cuvelier to his citation seemed to me at the time (and indeed seems now) of basic importance.

That application was, of course, that in an age when writing had become general in use, most of the audience who were listening to the Lecturer's exposition of the nature of Archives were probably themselves compilers of Archives though they might not be aware of it. The fact, with something of what it entails, is much more a matter of general knowledge in 1951 than it was in 1911; and I dare say many Archivists since Cuvelier have used his apt citation: I must confess to having done so myself on a number of occasions. But I think its usefulness is not yet exhausted: and indeed one finds still many compilers of Archives—even Archives of an important character—who are surprised to learn that their documentary accumulations are considered to be of the same nature as those of a Public Department and may have a like, if more restricted, value for future Students.

¹ "Par ma foi, il y a quarante ans que je dis de la prose, sans que j'en sçusse rien": *'Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme'*, Act II, Scene vi.

Larger still is the number of persons who fail to realise the inferences which may be drawn from this essential unity of character in Archives of every denomination and date: from the fact that a single simple definition covers alike the papers accumulated by a land-owner in the management of his Estate, or a business or professional man pursuing his avocation, or the most every-day individual arranging in an orderly way the *Correspondence*, *Accounts* and *Memoranda* in his desk, and those which result from the activities of a Ministry, a County Council or the Directorate of some great Institution or Undertaking. Yet this fact governs or should govern the whole of our approach to Archives from whatever angle we come at them—conservation (or elimination), repair, cataloguing or research and (most important of all) custody, that *differentia* between the Archive and the mere Document. It also governs or should govern the training of the professional Archivist. The vocational part of his study may vary (if he is sure that he will continue throughout his career to be occupied with the same type of Archives) upon considerations of the age, language, writing, materials, location and so forth of the Documents with which he will deal: but the manner of his proceeding, the principles upon which his treatment is based, his point of view—these do not vary: so far as they are concerned the Archivist who has had his training and gained his experience in the medieval Archives of a Central Government will be equally at home in dealing with the Documents accumulated in the Office of an Industrial Organisation or the Strong Room of a Solicitor or the Registry of an Academic Body. That is a fact which even Archivists do not as yet appreciate in all cases.

One thing more and I have done with divagations from my simple initial theme. Monsieur Jourdain had not only been making prose for forty years—he had been one of a large number who made it without knowing that they were doing so. Now anyone who has had much to do with the researches pursued in a considerable Record Office knows that in a great majority of cases the Record is used not only for a purpose which is not that for which it was compiled, but in an interest of which the compiler had no idea—very often the mere possibility of which would have surprised him exceedingly if he could have been told of it. Any one of the Documents used in Shakespearcan research will supply an illustration: most certainly their compilers would have been astounded if they could have foreseen the use to which these would be put and the value which would be attached to them, 300 years later. That un-self-consciousness of

the Archive is of course one of its most valuable characteristics, for it guarantees us against any attempt on the part of the compiler to deceive us: and it is a question often asked by Students whether this quality does in fact exist in modern Archives to the same extent as in those of the past.

From this point of view Archives may be roughly divided into two groups. On the one side are those of the Accounting or Minute type which carry with them, owing to the method in which they are generally known to have been compiled—the *Accounts* periodically audited, the *Minutes* regularly checked and signed—a certain presumption that they are complete so far as they go and have not been garbled. They may have fallen below older standards (many Accounting Records certainly have²) in respect of clarity, outward form and the fulness of information given “but in other ways we perceive no change”. On the other side—that of *Correspondence*—the tale is very different: indeed deterioration is almost inevitable in an age when the writers of important communications realise that their correspondence may be exposed not only to unfriendly eyes in the near future but to the critical interpretations of more distant Historians. There is no doubt that the persistent diversion of *State Papers* (in all Countries and all periods) into the Private Muniments of the men who made them, or alternatively the use of the private letter to qualify the official despatch, are largely due to this cause: and though Correspondence at a lower level may be held to be free from the temptations which assail the higher, they are not immune from the effects of other modern improvements—easy transport and the telephone, which facilitate the substitution of un-recorded conversation for written words; and easy multiplication of writing by mechanical means which makes the words in other cases so numerous that they begin to lose their meaning.

On the whole the Archivist must regretfully conclude that while the volume of ‘Prose’ has monstrously increased in modern times its value as a permanent contribution to knowledge in the form of Archives (unless quantity makes up for quality) is on the decline. We are falling below the standard of Monsieur Jourdain.

HILARY JENKINSON

² From the point of view of research many of the Series which now usurp the honourable title of *Ledgers* are deplorable affairs.

NOTE ON SOME MINOR RECORDS AS MATERIALS FOR HISTORY

A DISTINGUISHED and even illustrious English scholar, the late Dr. Joseph Armitage Robinson, Dean in turn of Westminster Abbey and of Wells Cathedral, devoted the leisure of his later years to the accumulation of data for the elucidation of problems in the ecclesiastical history especially of Somersetshire, one of the most interesting as it is also one of the most beautiful of English counties. 'I am not,' he used modestly to explain, 'an historian, but only a patient collector of materials from which some one will perhaps be able sooner or later to write History.' Such work is invaluable and merits greater recognition than it commonly obtains; for a trained observer of high technical skill who gives himself to such pursuits is to be regarded as far more than a 'snapper up of unconsidered trifles,' and it was a short sighted as well as somewhat ungenerous critic who used to complain to the long-suffering Editor of a learned quarterly review about the readiness with which he allowed the Dean to "empty into articles for the review the contents of his notebooks." The mere fact of bringing such materials together in a connected form may easily give the necessary articulation to what could otherwise be regarded as 'disjecta membra', and as the process is continued in relation to different areas comparisons begin to suggest themselves and light is thrown upon the origin of customs and even upon the development of institutions. This last feature is a matter of some importance as well as interest, since in England as elsewhere the inter-relation of religious and secular factors even from pre-Christian times is closer than is often suspected, and the life of a little community may be found to have a continuous existence surviving many purely secular changes.

Of course conclusions of this kind, if they are to rest upon anything like a secure foundation, pre-suppose much more than a faculty for making brilliant guesses. We are all of us familiar with the jest: 'I don't know anything about the subject. I have not even lectured upon it,' just as some of us recall the dictum of Archbishop Whately that a fallacy which stated in four lines would not deceive a child may delude a multitude when dilated in a quarto volume. And it is not always remembered that the triumphant exclamation 'What does that prove?' can have little justification until and unless it has been accurately ascertained what exactly *that* is, and what is its relation to a series of other 'facts' with which it needs to be

co-ordinated. This is likely to be a warning especially necessary to be borne in mind in regard to fields of history where religious and/or political prejudices have either been determining influences or may be likely to suggest themselves as guides to interpretation. To ascertain *what* happened in a particular case may be difficult enough, as anyone may judge who sits himself to examine with scrupulous care all the evidence available; but to ascertain *why* it happened may prove a baffling task even to the most completely detached observer whether contemporary or belonging to a later age. And if he concludes at times that his evidence proves too little, at others he may be led to think that it seems to prove too much. In that case he will do well to consider whether the fault be in his observation or in his reasoning or in both. Rarely, however, will he find ground for complaint that the materials at his disposal are too large in bulk or too multifarious in content especially if his interest be in a period remote from his own day.

The late Lord Morley is reported once to have reflected caustically at a meeting of the Trustees of the British Museum upon the supposed 'imperative necessity for preserving that which it was never worthwhile to produce.' But any custodian of 'records of the past' may be excused if he hesitates to advocate or to sanction the destruction of anything for the continued existence of which at any rate some plausible arguments can be advanced, especially in cases where the distribution of records of local interest for custody in local repositories may both relieve pressure and congestion at the centre and serve to stimulate interest over a wider area. In any case the mere fact that a document has been, or is supposed to have been, entered in a register somewhere should not in itself be regarded as rendering its preservation superfluous. In England at any rate there are very few mediaeval or even modern registers whether provincial, diocesan or parochial, to any one of which a professional student could conscientiously give a certificate that to the best of his knowledge and belief it includes all that it ought to have included or is wholly free from mistakes. And the modern researcher in a provincial or diocesan registry has often unfeigned reason to rejoice at the preservation of fee books, subscription books, visitation returns and presentments which serve not merely to eke out but even in some cases to establish conclusively some inference of historical importance.

Reference was made above to the stimulation of local interest, and in this connexion a tribute is due to the enterprise of County Record Societies which have done so much especially during the last

three quarters of a century to place in printed form at the disposal of students documents of local interest which but for their exertions might easily have perished. Like the invaluable volumes of the *Victoria County History*, based on these and similar records both secular and religious, such publications throw a flood of light on the domestic history and local organization of the different parts of England from age to age. At present such publication is greatly hampered by the high cost of printing and paper and binding and it is worthy of consideration whether a small grant of one hundred or two hundred pounds from national funds to each duly qualified organization for the purpose would not be repaid many times over by the resulting gain to students who profit by their voluntary labours. It can hardly fail to strike any one who examines the list of subscribers to one of the smaller of these societies that three out of every eight of these subscribers are libraries, but it is a testimony to the high standard of the work achieved that among those libraries are included some of the most famous in all parts of the world. The reason, one may venture to think, is that for those who have eyes to see and the necessary background of knowledge to enable them to interpret what they see in its proper relations the past lives again. To take a single class of documents to which reference has already been made as an example—the Visitation Returns which survive from the sixteenth, seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. Here the student may find not only illustrations of legal procedure (which may or may not be interesting but are often important) but also vignettes of episodes grave and gay in rural and town life which at least in some cases exhibit local conditions, customs and not infrequently superstitions in vivid relief. And those to whom they may appear humdrum and trivial may be reminded, since they are scarcely likely to remind themselves, of a famous review by Sir Walter Scott of Jane Austen in which he said that 'keeping close to common incidents and to such characters as occupy the common walks of life, she has produced sketches of such spirit and originality that we never miss the excitation which depends upon a narrative of uncommon events'. Certainly no reader of her works would guess that her life of little more than forty years was one of the most fateful periods of modern history nor, save from one or at most two references, that the still briefer span of her literary activity included the culmination of the struggle with Napoleon. Yet it may be suggested with some confidence that our understanding of the age could be noticeably the poorer without her novels. Similarly the 'excitation which depends upon a

narrative of uncommon events' can seldom be expected from ecclesiastical records. In regard to some which belong to the highest class it would be easy to complain that the important personages whose official acts are recorded are made to exhibit singularly little individuality. No one would guess from Cardinal Morton's register as Archbishop of Canterbury how various and even exciting were the incidents of his career nor even perhaps that he had also to fill the office of Chancellor any more than Bishop Juxon's register would throw light on his other interesting and even important activities as Lord Treasurer, the last future Archbishop of Canterbury to hold that office or indeed any other great office of state. No doubt the summary of a man's official acts will always tell the later student something of the character and functions of his office during the period at which he lived, and even, if selections from his correspondence be included, give an occasional insight into his personality. But as a rule we must descend to 'lower' strata of records if we would step outside the official atmosphere. It is in these that will be found the corrective, if also in part the justification, of some of the brilliant generalisations of modern writers on English Social History and the corrective is perhaps the more necessary when the generalisations are associated with political and/or religious labels which the student of human nature will do well always to regard with somewhat jealous scrutiny, especially when the labels are fastened on with literary artistry of the highest order. Let us then be thankful that enough still survives to shew us something of English communal life in past ages with its care for local boundaries and its jealousy for local customs associated (sometimes at other people's expense) with their maintenance; with its observance of local festivities and the social and religious sanctions connected with them; with its moral standards exemplified and vindicated at times somewhat harshly according to modern ideas, and even though the evidences may come down to us as supplied in accordance with official requirements *ab extra* yet leaving, as the modern student examines them over a wide area, the definite impression of something spontaneous rather than artificial, the acts and monuments it may be of Little Pedlington but none the less veridical and authentic. The genius of an Addison may bring before our minds one type of rural economy, but the variety of these isolated records is itself a warning of the danger of too hasty assimilation when the evidences from a whole county or diocese fail to supply anything more than one or two examples which can be regarded as in any real sense comparable.

Sed quorsum haec pertinent? And what relevance can be attributed to what may not unfairly be regarded as obviously casual observations in any context in which they are likely to find themselves. The answer that may be hoped for is that since the problems with which they are concerned are not confined to a single type of documents in a single area so the tentative solutions and the possible cautions which the statement of them suggests may possibly be found capable of a wider application. 'The heart knoweth its own bitterness,' and the heart of the archivist must often be torn by the struggle to make the practically possible conform as nearly as may be to the ideally desirable. The late Mr. Ramsay MacDonald addressing when Prime Minister a large gathering of historical students once said in the present writer's hearing in regard to documents of the seventeenth century that they should all of them be published: 'It is not a case for a selection of them. We ought not to be content with that—we must have them all.' Even if, as he seemed to think, funds were forthcoming from national resources the results of so stupendous an undertaking would hardly commend themselves as justifiable even to the now happily diminishing type of student to whom a document does not become respectable until it has been printed. But no one is likely to blame the archivist who 'plays for safety' by seeking the support of colleagues in the policy which he adopts both in regard to selection for publication and above all in favour of preservation rather than destruction where the choice is really feasible and the difficulties of accumulation can be mitigated by distribution.

CLAUDE JENKINS

THE CUSTODY OF RECORDS IN ROMAN EGYPT

IN ANY civilized community the need is sooner or later felt to arrange for the custody of its records, and the more bureaucratic the character of the administration the greater is the need for adequate arrangements. The government of Graeco-Roman Egypt was pre-eminently bureaucratic, and owing to the happy chance which has preserved so many papyri we are particularly well informed about its record offices. It may be of interest to readers of *The Indian Archives* to learn something about them, and I have pleasure in sending an article on the subject to the present number. It is not intended for specialists in papyrology. It embodies no results of recent original research and adds nothing to existing knowledge. Its sole purpose is to present a summary survey, for the non-specialist, of what is known about the record offices of Roman Egypt. That I have confined myself in the main to the period is due to the fact, firstly, that the available material is more abundant, and, secondly, that the custody of the archives was carried to a higher degree of elaboration by the Romans than by their predecessors.

Records may be broadly divided into two main classes, official documents, which arise in the course of administration, and private documents, which concern the activities and mutual relationships of the general public. Both classes include many documents of purely ephemeral interest, whose preservation, if they survive, is due to accident or the reluctance many people feel to throw away old papers. The official documents comprise, on the one hand, those concerned with the internal working of the administrative machine, like official correspondence, and registers of various kinds, and those which arise from the contacts of the machine with the private citizen, such as returns, petitions, and applications on the one side and, on the other, tax-receipts, licences, certificates and the like issued by official persons or bodies.

It is with regard to official papers that a government most naturally feels the need to secure proper custody, but private contracts may have to be produced as evidence in litigation or for other purposes, and hence arises the impulse to arrange for their preservation also. In the archive institutions of Graeco-Roman Egypt we find both classes of documents provided for. It will be convenient to begin our survey with contracts, of which there were two main classes, public and private. A public contract was one executed in a public notarial office or, by an extension in the Roman period, in a

bank (a bank-*diagraphê* as this class of deed is called). A private contract was one made unofficially between the parties. Naturally the first class had a higher legal status and greater value as evidence for the transaction concerned; indeed it is doubtful whether the evidence of a private contract, as such, would be accepted in a court of law or, if so, what value it could claim. Such contracts could, however, acquire the fuller status by the process of registration (*anagraphê*) or publication (*dêmosiôsis*).

An early form of private contract, of wide currency in Greece and introduced into Egypt by the Greek and Macedonian settlers, was the six-witness contract (*hexamartyros syngraphê*). The earliest dated Greek papyrus yet discovered, a marriage contract of 311 B.C., is of this type. This kind of deed could be drawn up by anybody possessing the necessary knowledge. It was guaranteed by six witnesses, who did not, however, subscribe, and was written in duplicate, the first text (*scriptura interior* as it is generally called) being rolled up and sealed on the outside by the witnesses. It was normal, though not obligatory, for one of these to take charge of the deed, but sometimes the custodian of the contract (*syngraphophylax*) was not himself a witness. In such cases he too appended his seal. The safe guardianship of the deed depended on the care and *bona fides* of the *syngraphophylax*, but, granted these, it was secure from loss or interference, and in case of dispute about the authenticity of the external text (*scriptura exterior*) the seals could be broken and the inner text compared with the outer. Fairly early in the Ptolemaic period the practice crept in of abbreviating the *scriptura interior*, which eventually became a mere docket, summarizing the essential points only. The six-witness deed continued in use, though with diminishing frequency, into the Roman period, but the employment of a *syngraphophylax* ceased.

Another and in later times much commoner type of private contract was the chirograph (*cheirophon*) or deed of hand. In principle and in form it was a letter addressed by one party to the other stating the terms of the contract, but it was not necessarily written by the contracting party himself, who indeed, in many cases, might be illiterate.

The official responsible for notarial business in the Egyptian "cities"¹ was the *agoranomos*, whose office was called *agoranomeion*.

¹ The capitals of the nomes or provinces into which Egypt was divided were popularly known as cities (*Arsinoitôn polis*, "the city of the Arsinoites", *Hermoupolis*, "the city of Hermes", etc.) but they were not cities in the Greek sense, since they lacked self-government and were under the authority of the *stratêgos* or governor. Not till about

In the villages we find a *grapheion*, which may be regarded as a kind of local branch of the *agoranomeion*. Contracts executed in these institutions possessed full publicity; and since registers were kept of the business transacted, the custody of such documents was safeguarded, given, that is, the competence and conscientiousness of the officials, which were not always forthcoming. The government was naturally interested in encouraging these public deeds, the authenticity of which was so much better guaranteed, and this fact may account for the very elaborate formalities required by the Romans for the "publication" of chirographs, the attractiveness of which was thereby diminished, but at no time was there any tendency to treat a chirograph, despite its inferior evidential value, as anything but a valid contract. The practice of registering the six-witness deed, and so too the chirograph, began in the Ptolemaic period; this was done through the *grapheion*.

Into the rather controversial details of Ptolemaic procedure I have not space to enter: We are far better informed about the Roman period, and for the *grapheion* in particular we have much evidence, notably a collection of papyri, now in the University of Michigan Library, which come from the archives of the combined *grapheion* of Tebtunis and Kerkesoucha Orous, two villages in the Arsinoite nome. On the basis of this evidence the procedure can be reconstructed as follows. When a contract was drawn up in a *grapheion* the original was retained in the office but official duplicates, known as *ekdosima*, were, or could be, issued to the parties.² The originals were made up in composite rolls (*tomoi synkollésimoi*) which were serially numbered, and as the individual documents in each roll were also numbered reference was easy. The rolls were available for inspection, so that evidence of a particular transaction could be obtained when necessary. Furthermore, abstracts of all contracts were made on rolls known as *eiromena*, which were also stored in the *grapheion*; and finally a register or index (*anagraphê*) of all contracts was kept on other rolls. The entries in this *anagraphê* were brief but adequate for identification, as is shown by the following extracts from a Tebtunis register: "Month of Kaisareios 4th: Agreement of Herôdês with Marcus for the sale of a donkey. Agreement of Orsenuphis with Marôn for 28

A.D. 200, when the Emperor Septimius Severus granted them senates, did they acquire something like municipal status; not till the end of the first decade of the fourth century, did they become full municipalities of the Roman pattern.

² At Tebtunis, at least, this was often not actually done: the parties appended their subscriptions to blank sheets of papyrus, which were retained in the *grapheion* and on which an official copy of the contract could be added whenever requested. This is a detail which does not affect the principle.

artabæ of barley". In another register is found in each case a note of the scribal fee (*grammatikhon*), thus: "21st: Agreement of Taôpis with Pasis acknowledging receipt of dowry of 60 silver drachmæ (Fee) 17 obols. Lease by Orseus son of Phasôs to Marôn of 1½ aroure of green pasture. Marôn owes the fee". It will be seen that the arrangement was chronological, in the form of a day-book.

It may be assumed with certainty that the procedure was broadly the same in the metropolitan *agoranomeion* as in the village *grapheion* and a similar process, *mutatis mutandis*, no doubt took place in the registration of private contracts: a copy or abstract, perhaps both, the latter entered in the *eiromenon*, and an entry in the register.

Thus these notarial offices had copies and registers of the business they transacted, and of such contracts concluded privately as were registered with them; and their records were open to inspection by authorized and interested persons.

The many official bureaux were not less diligent in preserving the records of their activities. Each of the higher officials of Roman Egypt, from the prefect downwards, kept a diary, in which was recorded day by day the business transacted by him. These diaries (*hypomnêmatismoi*) were preserved among the records and were open to public inspection. So too official correspondence was made up in *tomoi synkollêsimoi*, and letter-books, with copies of the letters, and abstracts were also prepared. It was the same with the other multitudinous records produced in the course of administration, census returns, returns of birth and death, petitions, applications of various kinds, returns of property, etc., on the one side, and on the other such official records as census rolls, registers of property, taxing rolls, terriers and land surveys, customs registers, and the like. The documents handed in by the public were made up, like official correspondence, into *tomoi synkollêsimoi*, the official registers were from the beginning in roll form; and all these rolls were preserved in the archives, registered, and numbered. Serial numbers distinguished the columns of writing, so that reference was easy; thus, a mother applying for the *epicrisis* of her son, that is, for his enrolment in the privileged class assessed at a reduced rate for poll-tax, and in proof of her claim tracing his descent from ancestors of that class, refers to each of the *epicrisis* records which she cites by roll and column, for example: "16th year of the deified Hadrian, City, Eastern Division, 11th block(?), roll 70 column 138"³. Long rolls of

³ Hermopolis, from which this application comes, was divided into two districts called respectively "City" and "Camp", each subdivided into an Eastern and a Western

taxpayers, householders, etc., were often arranged alphabetically. The alphabetic arrangement, however, usually extended no further than the initial letter; thus, we find in one, in successive lines, the names Phronimos, Phaësis, Philænos. These records were open to inspection, as shown by the *epicrisis* application quoted above, which could not have been drawn up without reference to the rolls of earlier returns.

How far the Ptolemaic administration felt the need to centralize the custody of records is uncertain, but the Romans did realize the convenience of bringing together under one roof the papers of the numerous bureaux, some of which were in out-of-the-way villages, and in which the custody was doubtless sometimes far from satisfactory. They, therefore, established in every nome-capital a central record office (*dêmosia bibliothêkê*) in which the various officials and bureaux were required to deposit copies of their records. To this came not only the diaries of the *stratêgos* or district governor, the census and other rolls compiled by the nome and municipal authorities and in fact papers of the central bureaux generally, but also copies of the land surveys and other records proceeding from the local officials, such as the village scribes, and furthermore the *eiromena* and registers of the *grapheia* and *mnêmoneia*. Since these bureaux seem to have retained such at least of their own records as were required for current business, making copies for the central record office, there would be a double check on any class of documents. In the second half of the first century A.D. a further change was made: the record office was sub-divided into two, the *bibliothêkê dêmosiôn logôn* (public record office) and the *bibliothêkê enktêseôn* (property record office). In the former were stored all official records, in the latter records relating to real property, including slaves. Each office was administered by municipal *bibliophylakes*, who were responsible for the safe custody and, when required, the production of the records, and were obliged, on expiration of their term of office, to hand them over in proper condition to their successors.

There has been much controversy, especially among German scholars, as to the nature and purpose of the *bibliothêkê enktêseôn*, some regarding its function as being that of the German *Grundbuch*, i.e., a property register, some holding it to have been a mere repository of records, yet others taking a middle view. The greater probability lies with the last: the *bibliothêkê enktêseôn* was neither in the proper

quarter. The symbol represented above by the words "11th block" is of doubtful meaning but had probably a topographical reference,

sense a *Grundbuch* nor a record office but a mixture of the two.' Its purpose is stated in an edict of the prefect Mettius Rufus, issued in A.D. 89, which it is worth while to quote in full:

"Proclamation of Marcus Mettius Rufus, prefect of Egypt. Claudius Arius, the *stratēgos* of the Oxyrhynchite nome, had informed me that neither private nor public business is receiving proper attention, because for many years the abstracts in the property record office have not been kept as they should have been, although it has often been laid down by my predecessors in office that they should be subjected to the required revision, which is not really practicable unless copies are made from the beginning. I therefore order all owners within six months to register their own property in the property record office, and so too lenders whatsoever mortgages they hold and other persons any claims that they have. In making the return they are to show in each case from what quarter the possession of the property came to them. Wives also are to append a note to the property statements of their husbands if by any native law they have a lien on the property, and likewise also children to the statements of their parents in cases where the usufruct is preserved to the parents by public deeds but the possession after death is secured to the children, in order that parties to contracts may not be defrauded through ignorance. And I also instruct the scribes and recorders of contracts not to execute any deed without the authorization of the record office, knowing that any such transaction is invalid but that they themselves will suffer the proper penalty for a breach of the regulations. If there are in the office any property returns of earlier years, they are to be preserved with all care, and so too the abstracts, in order that if hereafter any enquiry should be made about those who have made false returns they may by this means be convicted. In order, then, that the use of the abstracts may be secure and permanent, so that no further registration be required, I instruct the keepers of the record office to renew the abstracts every five years, transferring to the new lists the last statement of property under each rubric, arranged by village and by class. Year 9 of Domitian, 4th of the month of Domitianus".

It will be seen that the property record office contained not only returns of property but also abstracts (*diastromata*) of all transactions affecting ownership. The *grapheia* deposited in the office copies of their *eiromena*, and whenever the records were found to be in an unsatisfactory state, as seems to have been the case not infrequently, an edict of the prefect (like that just quoted) ordered a general return

of property from all property owners. The *diastrómata* were based on these returns, and were kept up to date by noting, when required, any changes of ownership, as well as all liens on the property. An existing fragment of a *diastróma* shows such additions both within the column and in the margin. Every five years, as seen above, a new *diastróma*, incorporating all this supplementary material, was prepared. In order that the record office might be cognizant of changes, no sale or encumbrance of property registered in its records might be made without its authorization. The intending vendor or mortgagor addressed to it his application (*prosangelia*), and if all was in order the necessary permission (*epistalma*) was issued, usually in the form of a subscription to the *prosangelia*.

Thus we see that the property record office did in large measure perform the function of a *Grundbuch*, safeguarding purchasers against fraudulent sales of encumbered or already alienated property. But the security was not absolute, since the office does not seem to have contained private contracts, like chirographs, unless they had been registered. The mischief was not perhaps so great as might be expected, since general returns of property, despite the wish expressed by Mettius Rufus, were ordered fairly often; and moreover a fraudulent vendor knew that the transaction would be invalidated if evidence of an existing lien on the property was found in the *diastrómata*, and this knowledge would probably act in some degree as a deterrent.

The actual administration of the record offices does not seem to have been as efficient or as thorough as their original planning. We have a good deal of evidence for this, not only in the edict quoted and in various other places but particularly in some documents relating to a law suit during the reign of Trajan between the *bibliophylakes dêmosiôn logôn* and their secretary about the transfer of the records, some of which were in very bad condition. ⁴ One of the illustrative documents quoted is a letter of the prefect Minicius Italus dated 19 May A. D. 103 and referring to the property record office, which again is worth quoting in full:

"Copy of a letter. Minicius Italus to Diogenes, Dionysios, and

⁴ Compare the following passages, which are significant for the conditions existing: "Some are no longer preserved, having been destroyed by lapse of time, some are in part destroyed, and some are eaten away at the top, because the repositories are parched". "Because the records have often been transferred from one repository to another which is unsuitable and lie one on top of another and unarranged owing to their quantity (since the nome is a very big one), being in daily use and the material being very fragile, it has come about. . . ."

Apollônios, *stratêgoi* of the Arsinoite nome,⁵ greeting. His excellency, Clastikos, *procurator* of our lord, has informed me that the property record office in the nome is unsuitable, and that the records stored in it are perishing; indeed the majority cannot even be found. He says that he has selected in your presence another place which is suitable and that three thousand two hundred and eighty-two drachmae three obols have been voted for the building.⁶ In order, then, that there may be no neglect of the most essential records I wish you at once to undertake the construction and to have the records of earlier dates which he says are partially destroyed and sealed up, since no one can make them available, because the parties to them have long been dead; and you are to transfer them to the building which I now order to be constructed and to register them, in the presence of the proper persons, and to file the register. Farewell. Sixth year of Imperator Caesar Nerva Trajanus Augustus Germanicus, Pachôn 24".

The care taken of obsolete records shows the archive character of the *bibliothêkê enktêseôn*, as a repository of records no less than an office for the registration of property. Its utility as a record office is illustrated by a document in which its records and those of a village scribe are both used to establish the ownership of certain property.

The process of centralization did not end with the nome-capitals but extended also to the capital, Alexandria, where the Romans established several record offices. To one, called *bibliothêkê en Patrikois* ("the Library in Patrika"), were sent copies of all the official diaries kept by the local governors in the various nomes of Egypt. Chance has preserved a list, dated in A. D. 136, of diaries sent to this office by the *stratêgos* of the Mendesian nome: "Register of diaries deposited in the Library in Patrika in the twentieth year of Hadrianus Caesar the Lord. They are: from 21 Hadrianus to Tybi 21, 1 roll, and from Tybi to Mecheir 5, 1 roll, and from 6 Mecheir to the 21st of the same month, 1 roll, and from 22 Mecheir to 4 Phamenôth, 1 roll; total 4 rolls." It may be presumed, but is not, I think, established by surviving evidence, that diaries were not the only official records sent by the nome authorities to this office, which enabled the central administration to acquaint itself with the conduct of business in the provincial centres.

⁵ The Arsinoite nome, the largest nome in Egypt, was divided into three divisions (*merides*), each of which, at this date, had a separate *stratêgos*.

⁶ The exactitude with which the estimates were prepared, down even to so trifling a figure as 3 obols, will be noted.

Two other record offices, often mentioned in the papyri, were the "Library of Hadrian" and the Nanaion. The former was presumably a foundation of the Emperor Hadrian; the latter, which must have been originally a temple of Nana, a Semitic goddess identified with the Egyptian Isis, may also have been established by Hadrian but was perhaps of earlier foundation. An edict of A. D. 127 by the prefect issues instructions for the conduct of business in these offices. The superintendents are to "file the accounts of the revenue every five days". The auditors in the filing office (*katalogeion*) "shall make abstracts of the contracts, including in them the names of the scribes and those of the parties, the number of transactions, and the kinds of contracts, and shall file them in both record offices. The so-called registrars, when they examine the roll of copies stuck together for filing, are to note in the margin if anything has been omitted or inserted improperly; and they are to make a copy on a single sheet of papyrus and file it in both record offices And they shall add also the number of the columns and the names of the contracting parties.....The superintendent of the Nanaion shall not give certified copies (*ekdosima*) nor allow inspection nor any other use to be made before receiving instructions from the superintendent of the Library of Hadrian.....The officials in the city are, then, to file contracts in both record offices from the first of Pharmouthi, those in Egypt likewise from Pachôn."

Both these record offices played an essential role in the process of execution for debt. To protect debtors against improper exploitation by their creditors the procedure of execution was always somewhat lengthy, but in the case of debts contracted through a chirograph or other private contract it was particularly complicated. I have already said that the Romans, while never making the chirograph an invalid form of contract, tried indirectly to encourage the conclusion of public as against private contracts; and one method of doing so was to deny the right of execution to a debt founded on a chirograph unless the document had been subjected to the process of *démosiôsis* ("publication"), which in the Roman period replaced the Ptolemaic registration (*anagraphê*). Public contracts automatically enjoyed publicity, and so too did contracts (*diagraphai*) made through a bank. Banks were required, like *grapheia*, to register all contracts made through them, and to deposit *eiromena* in the property record office. Finally, the type of deed known as *synchôrêsis* ("agreement"), which, since it was in form (though only in form) a settlement of a dispute, might be compared with the "fine and

recovery" of English law, and was concluded before a court, also enjoyed publicity. A chirograph, however, was a purely private agreement; and if a debtor defaulted in regard to a debt so contracted the creditor must obtain *dēmosiōsis* before he could initiate proceedings. For this purpose he had to present to the *katalogeion*, the office of the high legal official called the *Archidikastēs*, in Alexandria an application (*hypomnēma*) for *dēmosiōsis*. In this application was included a full copy of the contract, and the application, together with the contract, was then deposited in the Library of Hadrian and a duplicate in the Nanaion. Only when this had been done could action be taken to initiate the process of distraint.

Considerations of space have made it necessary to confine this account of the record offices of Roman Egypt to a bare outline of the essential points, neglecting many technical details, some of which are matters of controversy. I hope that I have succeeded at least in showing how remarkably developed was the technique. It had, of course, faults and imperfections. Sometimes there are curious gaps, as in the failure to include unregistered private contracts in the property record office; in some respects the procedure seems unnecessarily complicated; and in practice official slackness and incompetence, unfavourable climatic conditions, and at times perhaps actual corruption, tended to defeat the purpose of the regulations; but this is merely to say that the standards of ancient administration did not attain the level of the best modern practice.

HAROLD IDRIS BELL

ARCHIVES AND THEIR MAKE-UP IN ANCIENT INDIA AND THE COUNTRIES WITH INDIAN CULTURE¹

ANCIENT ARCHIVAL documents were for the most part written on papyrus in Egypt. In Western Asia they were incised on metal plates, above all on bricks and ostrakons and probably, also on skin. In Europe, in later ages, they were written on parchment and paper. In China they were incised on bamboo lathes and stone and subsequently written on paper. In the area influenced by the Indian civilisation they display even a much greater variety because of the varied nature of the countries embraced by that civilisation. Here one finds metal, stone, wood, birch bark, skin or parchment, palm leaf, paper, cardboard and linen, all employed side by side.

We do not possess Indian documents of very high antiquity that might be considered as pieces of archives. The inscribed seals of the Indus civilisation do not have this character and we are still ignorant of their actual use in spite of the many readings that have been suggested which are as various as they are arbitrary. Chance has willed it that the oldest evidence about Indian written texts capable of having been archival documents should be that recorded by Nearchus towards the end of the 4th century B.C. According to him indeed Indians wrote their letters (*epistolas*) on well-beaten linen (*sindosi*, strictly speaking, calico—Strabo, Geography XV, 1.67). This information is valid for India in the strictly etymological sense of the name *i.e.*, the basin of the Sindhu (the Indus) which is precisely the tract traversed by Nearchus. It is hardly likely that everywhere in the peninsula letters used to be written on linen, palm leaves being a material much more suited to this use. The Buddhist texts contain allusions to letters usually exchanged and refer to their use in the epoch of the Buddha (558-478 B.C.). These texts in their extant form are posterior to the information furnished by Nearchus, but what we know of the Indian society of the time of the Buddha affords no room for doubt that the society did as a general rule make use of written correspondence. One might argue, however, that during this epoch India hardly knew the art of writing, which, according to some scholars, was introduced there only after the Achaemenian conquest towards the end of the sixth century B.C. by the scribes of the Aramaic language who were in the employ of the Persians in the satrapies of Gandhara and of Sindh. In fact a special script was

¹ Translated from the original French of the author.

developed in the Indian territories under the Achaemenian administration on the model of the Aramaic but with features conforming to the notation peculiar to India, owing its origin to a phonetic analysis of the language. This system remained the only one in standard use all over India² as well as in the Indianised countries. This form of Aramaic-Indian writing, usually known as Kharoṣṭhi, far from being the earliest Indian script, is an Aramaic transcription of the Indian script already in existence—a transcription comparable to Persian as well as European transliterations of modern times.

The existence of an elaborate script at the disposal of the Persian functionaries also presupposes the existence of archival documents in this script which was destined to become the medium of a middle-Indian language employed by these functionaries. Unfortunately none of these records have survived for us. But the tradition of making and preserving similar documents in the same script and in a middle-Indian language became firmly established after being extended to Central Asia, where Sir Aurel Stein has discovered valuable collections at Niya and Endere in Eastern Turkistan and East of Khotan. These documents are usually on tablets of wood, but sometimes also on parchment and, judging from the date of a Chinese document found among them, belong to the third century of the Christian era. Similar vestiges were discovered by Pelliot further north in the region of Kucha, intermixed this time with Kuchian documents of the seventh century A.D.

The last are of two kinds: those on wooden boards and those on paper. They testify to the existence of archival collections maintained in scripts characteristically Indian side by side with those which continued in an Aramo-Indian script the administrative tradition of the ancient Persian Satrapies in India. They are indeed in the language of the Kingdom of Kucha but in a script derived from the Indian Gupta style of writing. In the neighbouring kingdom, called in Sanskrit "Kingdom of Agni", some of the records appeared to be even in Sanskrit. They were discovered by the German expeditions and studied by H. Lüders. The Kuchian wooden tablets were unearthed by Pelliot about four leagues north-west of Kucha on the site of an ancient watch tower which was used as a custom house. They are in fact permits for the caravans. They enabled Sylvain Lévi to demonstrate in 1913 that the language in which these were written was the same as that of the Kingdom of Kucha and to fix their date by the discovery of the name of the local king Swarnadep

² That is to say, the 'India' of the Achaemenids.

(‘Suvarnadeva’ in Sanskrit) whom he could show from the Chinese history of the T’ang dynasty as reigning at Kucha in 630 A.D. These tablets are generally rectangular with notches on the border intended for the string which tied the two pieces together, the written sides facing each other. The writing is in ink, the wood is a variety of poplar. Among the paper documents some are fragments bearing cursive writing, made of unsized material, written with the Chinese brush and are analogous to the Chinese documents proper found in the same region. The others, also in cursive writing, are rolls of paper generally sized with a white paste. The last are the documents containing the accounts of a convent found by Pelliot further west in Douldour-Aquor.

The explorations of Central Asia have elsewhere yielded numerous archival documents in the Tibetan language and in the Tibetan script which owes its origin to the Central Indian script of the 6th Century A.D. Most of these Tibetan documents came from Toun Houang on the border of China and Turkistan and were found in a cave which was walled up on the eve of the Muslim invasions.

The most ancient archival documents in an Indian script or in the Sanskrit language found in Central Asia belong to relatively late dates and it may be doubted if the practice of keeping administrative archives goes back to a very early date in the history of Indian civilisation. One may suppose that in the Indian territories not affected by the Persian invasion this was begun in imitation of the practice introduced by the Persian officials.

The prevalence of an essentially Indian script previous to its transformation into an Indo-Aramaic alphabet under Persian domination does not certainly imply that the administrative machinery of the Kingdoms in Central and Eastern India utilised this for official purpose. The use of it might have been purely sacerdotal, literary or private.

A Priori this supposition would seem hardly probable if one considers the importance of the kingdoms in question. It needs, however, examination particularly in view of certain pieces of evidence offered by the Greek writers belonging to the period of Alexander and that immediately following his death. Megasthenes, writing of the state of things under the founder of the great Maurya dynasty, Chandragupta, says in fact that the Indians do not know the ‘Gramma’ and that “it is by memory that everything is regulated” (Strabo XV, 1,53). Nearchus also says that in India all laws are unwritten (Strabo, XV, 1,66). The word ‘Gramma’ has often been interpreted as alphabets

and it has been believed that Indians did not know writing in the times of Megasthenes. This interpretation is unacceptable, for the elaborate system of Indian phonetic writing had already served as the basis of the formation of the Indo-Aramaic Script of the Persian period which immediately preceded Alexander's invasion. Besides, as we have already seen, Nearchus himself speaks of written letters. We should accept the word *gramma* in the sense of 'written regulations', but the fact remains that if the administration decided and regulated everything without the help of writing, it could not create any archives.

But the evidence of the two Greek authors is by no means conclusive. One must take into account the current phenomenon of many Indian scholars habitually carrying all their knowledge in their memory and making the least possible use of books or written words. It has been known for a long time that even as late as the eighteenth century a missionary who had long lived in India could write that Indians had no written law books (Letter from P. Bouchet, 1714, *Lettres Edifiantes* ed. Aime-Martin, t. II., p. 485). The fact is that he had always seen judges doing without written texts in public because they knew them by heart.

In a place where memory is so well developed that the use of books is easily dispensed with not only in the cultivation of the Vedas which could not be written, but also for the study of even literary texts, even the technicians, the administrators and the judges could well appear to a stranger as neither having any written text nor taking recourse to writing.

The question would have been settled once for all if the manual of politics and administration attributed to Kauṭilya, viz., the *Arthaśāstra*, could be ascribed with certainty to Kauṭilya, Minister of Chandragupta. In fact the *Arthaśāstra* (Prakaraṇa 25, ed. Shamasastri 1924, p. 62) mentions among others a public institution named *Akṣapātala* which included the office of accounts (*Gaṇanikyādhikāra*) and in which an inspector (*Adhyakṣa*) held the charge of a depository of the chief books (*Nibandha-pustaka-sthāna*). It was in these depositories that all the accounts, inventories and revenues etc., of the state were registered. But the *Arthaśāstra* contains at least some interpolations of a date later than that of its supposed author, for example, the passage mentioning China under the name *Chīna* corresponding to Chinese *Tsin* which came into use about a century after Kauṭilya.

In these circumstances we have no option but to come down to the valuable, though necessarily incidental and incomplete data of the

inscriptions of Chandragupta's grandson Aśoka, and thus to an incontestable date. These attest the existence of an administrative system which antedates Aśoka himself, for he introduced some reforms into it and did not create it. This administrative system which embraced an empire stretching from the reign of the upper Indus to Mysore and from Baluchistan to Bengal could hardly do without writing and depend entirely on the memory of its officers. It is very probable that the system did provide for a central office for the registration of accounts and records like the one described in the *Arthaśāstra*, although it finds no mention in the inscriptions. However, the examination of these makes one believe that many of the official documents could very well be circulated through the medium of memory. The inscriptions in question are mostly repeated in the different parts of the empire and often mention that they reproduce the exact words of the king. However, they do so with some variations, all of which cannot be explained away as being justified by the necessity of adapting the forms of the language to the local speech. These variations can very well be explained if one assumes that the transmission of the text was effected through messengers who learnt them by heart rather than through copies made at the Royal Court from originals preserved in the chancery. The words that the king ordered to be engraved everywhere on rocks or pillars need not have been committed to writing in the first instance. In this case the written originals would be the stone inscriptions themselves. However that may be, it is in the form of these inscriptions that we possess the most ancient state documents of India corresponding to those which are preserved elsewhere in the ordinary depositories of archives.

The continued practice of engraving documents of this kind on stone has made possible the preservation for hundreds of years a very large collection not only in India but in the Hinduised countries of the Far East, particularly in Cambodia, Champa (Central Vietnam) and Java. Others, being for the most part records of donation, have been preserved for us owing to their having been engraved on metal, mostly on copper (India and Java).

We learn from the History of Kashmir, the *Rājataranginī* (V. 397-398), that during the Middle ages the official entrusted with the *Akṣapaṭāla* for the issue of official documents (*Paṭṭopādhyāya*) was the one who delivered the charters of donations (*dānapaṭṭaka*). We read also in the same work (I, 15) that its author, the historian Kaḷaṇa, who wrote between 1148 and 1149 had at his disposal, as written sources of the history he compiled, charters of endowment

(Pratiṣṭhā-śāsana), charters relative to ground-plots and buildings (Vastuśāsana), panegyrics (Praśastipatṭa) and books (Śāstra). He does not tell us on what materials these documents were written. It is certain the first three kinds were on stone or copper and in some instances perhaps on birch-bark which, in any case, was the usual writing material in ancient Kashmir.

As for more recent times archival documents in perishable materials have been preserved at least as relics from the past. Besides Persian and European documents usually written on paper and Indian documents also on paper, many of the pieces, found particularly in South India, are on leaves of palm belonging to the variety known as *Borassus flabelliformis* (Lin.). For letters and other documents of short length either one leaf or a small number of leaves were employed. A leaf of big size folded along the rib about the centre served as an envelope, the latter being slipped into the pouch thus formed. Sometimes the leaves were rolled up after being sewn through a seam at the ends. At other times, particularly when a small number of leaves were used, they were rolled and kept together by means of a tight ring made of palm-leaf fastened round them.

Another method of making up official letters obtained in Ceylon which is particularly remarkable. A very long leaf of palm (*Corypha umbraculifera*, Lin.) capable of measuring up to 1.60 meters, with the ends trimmed and embroidered with silk, constituted the letter. It was then folded several times and was covered with a broken piece from another leaf, on the edges of which an incision was made at right angles with the longer side of the leaf in such a manner that when refolded the ends became attached to each other. The whole thing was then encased in another palm leaf decorated with embroideries and gold filigree work and thereafter placed in an embroidered bag. This was the case with a letter from the Court of Ceylon sent to a Dutch Governor in 1687 (Ms. in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris—Indian, 935). The enclosing of official messages in a small bag or in a casket has been normal in India and the countries influenced by Indian civilisation from ancient times to the present day. In the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin school (Feer, *Fragments extraits du Kandjour*, p. 40) preserved as the Buddhist canon in Tibet in Tibetan translation a person sent as messenger starts on his journey provided with valuable boxes which appear to have included not only boxes containing presents but also those containing messages. The letter brought to Paris in 1684 by the ambassador from the King of Siam to Louis XIV was enclosed in a golden box.

The use of thick paper or of cardboard for accounts or other documents was well known in India, but was particularly common in Indo-China, Burma, Siam and Cambodia. This paste board was yellowish white and was written in black ink. The black ones were written with steatite pencil or yellow ink. The cardboards were often enfolded in *paravent*.

Indian archives thus present aspects of the widest possible variety even if one does not take into account the extreme diversities of languages and scripts in which they were written. They had very frequently to be maintained on stone or metal to avoid risks of deterioration caused by the climate.

JEAN FILLIOZAT

MAX LEHMANN AND THE GENESIS OF THE "PRINCIPLE OF PROVENANCE"

THE PROBLEM of archival arrangement in its theoretical and historical aspects has been of paramount interest to archivists in various countries, and the general lines of a development that culminated in the famous "principle of provenance," have been convincingly worked out.¹ What has received less attention are the trends of historical thinking that helped to shape archival theory, the circumstances under which theoretical insight was first translated into action, and last but not least the men who were instrumental in liberating the archival profession from the influence of ideas alien to its tasks.

This article is concerned with shedding more light on the beginnings of the principle of provenance² in the Privy State Archives at Berlin. True, the story of how this principle grew out of the needs of a major archival agency was told in 1902 by Paul Bailleu who had actively participated in its application to the Berlin records.³ His paper, however, reveals little of the opposition encountered by the advocates of the new system, and it fails to pay sufficient tribute to the man whose name is forever linked with one of the decisive steps in the history of the profession. That Max Lehmann was the author of the Regulations of July 1, 1881 which, at the Privy State Archives, prescribed "respect for every original order, for every original designation," is generally acknowledged, but may mean little to archivists who are not familiar with his life and his writings.

The genesis of the principle of provenance cannot be told from the records alone. All they disclose is that the Regulations of 1881 were drafted by Max Lehmann and adopted at a conference of the officials of the Privy State Archives presided over by its director,

¹ The pertinent literature is listed in an appendix to the excellent article by Andrea Varga, "Il principio di provenienza", *Archivi*, series II, 6: 184-203 (1939) which, however, does not include Georg Winter's "Das Provenienzprinzip in den Preussischen Staatsarchiven", *Revista de la biblioteca, archivo y museo del Ayuntamiento de Madrid*, 10: 180-190 (April 1933). For a good summary, see also Theodore R. Schellenberg, *European Archival Practices in Arranging Records* (National Archives, Staff Information Circulars, No. 5), Washington, 1939, 12 P.

² The term is admittedly inadequate because it fails to stress the fundamental difference between the new principle and that of *respect des fonds*. It has become generally accepted, however, and will be used throughout this article. "Principle of the sanctity of the original order" would be more to the point.

³ "Das Provenienzprinzip und dessen Anwendung im Berliner Geheimen Staatsarchiv", *Korrespondenzblatt des Gesamtvereins der deutschen Geschichts- und Altertumsvereine*, 50: 193-195 (Oct. and Nov. 1902).

Heinrich von Sybel.⁴ As so frequently happens, however, the records do not reflect the conflicts of personalities and ideas that precede and accompany the birth of an administrative document of major significance, with the result that lesser sources of information, such as memoirs, autobiographies, and oral traditions, must be resorted to to fill the void.

Varga in his article on the principle of provenance speaks of the Regulations of 1881 as the "Sybelian Regulations".⁵ This is correct to the extent that Sybel, Director of the Prussian State Archives, gave them his official sanction and authorized their application. It is also true because the progression from the French *respect des fonds* to the Prussian principle of provenance, or rather *Registraturprinzip*, constitutes one of the major achievements of Sybel's term of office, a period of twenty years from 1875 to 1895, which raised the Prussian archives to the rank of truly scholarly institutions and gave them their rightful place among the other cultural agencies of the country.⁶ It was Sybel, a man no less renowned for his historical writings than for his organizational and administrative talent, who started the voluminous series of the *Publikationen aus den preussischen Staatsarchiven* and the *Kaiserurkunden in Abbildungen*. This magnificent publication programme not only provided his officials with splendid opportunities for scholarly endeavour, but also could not fail to attract the best historical students into the archives career. What other archival administrations of the period could boast of the services of archivists as prominent as Max Lehmann, Paul Bailieu, Reinhold Koser, and Friedrich Meinecke, all of whom achieved national if not international fame.

It is to Meinecke that we owe some intimate information on the beginnings of the principle of provenance. For the first volume of his memoirs includes a charming chapter on the Privy State Archives in the 1870's and 80's.⁷ Located in the heart of the old Berlin where the Margraves of Brandenburg had resided before the erection of the castle on the Spree, its vaults housed the records of the Privy Council

⁴ See Johannes Schultze, "Gedanken zum 'Provenienzgrundsatz'", "Hans Beschorner, ed., *Archivstudien zum siebenzigsten Geburtstage von Woldemar Lippert* (Dresden, 1931), p. 225.

⁵ L. c., p. 190. Similarly, E. Wiersum pictures the adoption of the principle of provenance as the personal decision and merit of Sybel, see his "Het herkomstbeginsel", *Congrès international des Archivistes et des Bibliothécaires*, 1910, *Actes* (Bruxelles, 1912), p. 137.

⁶ Paul Kehr, "Ein Jahrhundert preussischer Archivverwaltung", *Preussische Jahrbücher*, 196: 159-178 (May, 1924) gives an excellent summary of Sybel's achievements as Director of the Prussian State Archives (pp. 173-175). See also Paul Bailieu, "Sybel", *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 54: 645-667 (Leipzig, 1908).

⁷ Friedrich Meinecke, *Erlebtes, 1862-1901* (Leipzig, 1941), pp. 137-148.

of Brandenburg-Prussia to which, in 1874, those of the General-Directorium, the ministry of the interior and finance of the 18th century, and those of some of the ministries of the 19th century had been added. The building was more noteworthy for its atmosphere than for its comforts and conveniences. Records were stored on wooden shelves reaching up to the high ceilings, and on the first floor, in the midst of the paper monuments of his bureaucracy, stood the enormous equestrian statue of Frederick the Great. The organization of the Privy State Archives was as time-honoured as the building. Untouched as yet by the concepts of efficient management, the Privy State Archives was staffed with six Privy State Archivists and a few assistants with the title of *Archiv-Sekretär*.⁸ Though the Director of the Prussian State Archives also served as Director of the Privy State Archives, actual administration was left to the small group of Privy State Archivists who, in pairs of two, alternated in taking charge of the agency's business. Subject only to review by the monthly conferences presided over by Director Sybel, the Privy State Archivists were a law unto themselves and imbued with the dignity and independence of their positions.

It was shortly after his appointment in 1875 that Sybel called Max Lehmann into a vacant position of Privy State Archivist. Born in Berlin in 1845,⁹ Lehmann had received an excellent education at the famous *Joachimstalsches Gymnasium*. It prepared him splendidly for his university studies which he pursued at the Universities of Berlin, Königsberg, and Bonn. At the latter university, Sybel was one of his main professors and though Lehmann left Bonn after what he considered his happiest semester, to prepare for his doctorate in Berlin, Sybel employed him in 1867 to examine, for his History of the French Revolution, the material in the State Paper Office in London. This gave Lehmann a chance to acquaint himself with research in archival sources, and what may have been even more important, to observe the life of a great Western European capital. Upon his return, Berlin looked to him "like a medium size provincial city with a surprisingly great number of soldiers".¹⁰

Disappointed in his expectation of entering the academic career, Lehmann was only too glad to accept Sybel's offer of a position at the Privy State Archives. It was for him, as he later stated, "not quite

⁸ See the respective sections of the official annual manual entitled *Handbuch für den Königlich Preussischen Staat und Hof*.

⁹ The following is based on Lehmann's autobiographical sketch in Siegfried Steinberg, ed. *Die Geschichtswissenschaft in Selbstdarstellungen*, (1:) 207-232 (Leipzig, 1925).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

the academic profession, but by no means a bad preparation for it." It is easy to imagine that Lehmann's appointment was not enthusiastically received by the older Privy State Archivists. Quite apart from his lack of practical experience in archives work, the fact that Lehmann at the same time assumed the editorship of Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift* and that he was scheduled to inaugurate the *Publikationen* with a work on Prussia's Relations with the Catholic Church, could not be to the liking of his colleagues. It meant certainly that not all of his time and work would belong to the dispatch of the day-to-day business of the Privy State Archives.

If we are right in assuming that Lehmann's appointment met with rather mixed feelings at the Privy State Archives, his personality was not likely to overcome them. For he was the "fightingest" of German archivists and historians, a man always ready to engage in literary controversy, to carry it on to the bitter end, and even to enjoy it.¹¹ Oral tradition at the Privy State Archives characterized him as domineering, highly excitable, and hard to bear for his colleagues. "There was something of a lion in Lehmann's nature," Meinecke said in his obituary in 1930,¹² "supreme intellectual severity combined with the greatest passion, and a burning ethical enthusiasm that could carry him to great heights but would also sometimes lead him astray."

A man of such volcanic character could not very well adapt himself to the sedate ways of a venerable agency like the Privy State Archives, that traced its beginnings back to the early 17th century, and he was bound to cause outright hostility if he decided to become the advocate of change in a vital field of archival work. And this is exactly what Lehmann did after he had gained some practical experience as an archivist. The records of the Privy State Archives had received their basic organization¹³ into record groups called *Reposituren* prior to the reorganization of the Prussian State during the so-called period of Reform from 1807 to 1815. In spite of the fact that the pattern of the central government had been completely transformed, archivists continued to place the records of the new ministries into the compartments of the old scheme of record groups, principally on the basis of their subject matter. To give an example,

¹¹ With respect to attacks of the *Zentrum* (Catholic) Party against his first volume of *Preussen und die Katholische Kirche*, Lehmann said in his autobiographical sketch: "I replied, of course, (*Historische Zeitschrift*, 1883) and rarely did I enjoy a literary feud as much as this one" (*l.c.*, p. 218).

¹² *Historische Zeitschrift*, 141: 449-50 (1930).

¹³ See Bailleu, *l.c.*, pp. 193-194.

correspondence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the Mission in Brussels would be combined with old records of the Privy Council pertaining to Brabant, and the records of the Brussels Mission itself would be thrown in for good measure. The obvious result of this was that the documentation of the newer agencies of the State became completely submerged in a system designed to accommodate the material of a much earlier period.

When Paul Bailleu discussed the application of the principle of provenance to the Berlin holdings before the 1902 meeting of the German archivists, he went to great length in describing the unsatisfactory results of what he called the lack of a "thoroughgoing system of arrangement".¹⁴ He dwelt particularly on the difficulties encountered in reference work. In order to find records it was necessary to first check the agency accession lists, from these determine the agency's record designation or call mark, and with the help of these call marks discover the designation given to the records at the Privy State Archives. It was the cumbersomeness of this procedure that impressed the necessity of a change upon the younger officials of the archives. Arrangement on the basis of agency provenance and registry classification they felt must replace the impossible arrangement based on subject matter. Since under the excellent system of record keeping, developed in German registry offices, records received an order clearly expressed in classification symbols, it became now solely a matter of keeping them in this order, once they reached the archival agency, or restoring this order where it had become obliterated.

Archival experience it seemed demonstrated clearly the advantages of the new system. However, it also corresponded to the "historical thinking"¹⁵ of a generation that had come to the archives from the classes of Ranke, Droysen, Sybel and other heroes of a great period of German historiography. The new principle was more than a technical knack. It meant the application of respect for historical growth to the sources of historical research that had come into existence in the course of historical events.

In view of the fact that subject matter arrangement had governed supreme for a number of decades and that the application of the principle of provenance necessitated a reworking of much of the holdings of the Privy State Archives, it is not surprising that the new ideas met with opposition on the part of the traditionalists among the Privy State Archivists. Their spokesman was the "omnipotent"

¹⁴ Bailleu, *l.c.*, p. 194.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

Paul Hassel, "who had come to power as the favourite of Max Duncker, the predecessor of Sybel."¹⁶ During the Franco-Prussian War, Hassel, a Ph.D. of the University of Berlin, had served as a reporter for the *Preussischer Staatsanzeiger* with the Third Army,¹⁷ and it can be assumed that Crown Prince Frederick William, who was in command of that army, recommended him to Duncker and helped him in his career at the Archives. Fortunately for the advocates of change, the older Privy State Archivists, anxious to defend the dignity of their office, resented Hassel's overbearing attitude.¹⁸ They joined forces with the younger generation and convinced Sybel of the need for a new system of arrangement. Naturally we do not know any details of the conflict that preceded the adoption of the Regulations of July 1, 1881. They represented a clear-cut victory of the anti-Hassel front. Hassel resigned from the Prussian Privy State Archives and, in July 1882, was called into the vacant position of Director of the Royal Main State Archives in Dresden.¹⁹ Once again, the influence of the Crown Prince, the later Emperor Frederick III, may have worked in his favour.

The way was now cleared and, as Meinecke says, "the idea of arranging the records according to their provenance, now implemented with all possible vigour, injected all of a sudden an incredible amount of vitality and individuality into the entire Archives. For the registry of every single agency now became a living organism of its own with its peculiar principle of life, and the different persons with their individual traditions and impulses now came to light."²⁰ When Meinecke entered the Privy State Archives on April 15, 1887, the great task of recasting the archives in accordance with the new ideas was by no means completed, and he could still "witness the enthusiasm that inspired its pioneers."²¹

As has been pointed out, Lehmann was not the only one among the younger archivists to press for a new departure in methods of archival arrangement. But exactly what was his share in working out the new principle? Bailleu, in his 1902 paper before the German archivists, referred to the younger generation of officials who entered the Privy State Archives either with Sybel or shortly thereafter and who became convinced of the necessity of ending the existing con-

¹⁶ Meinecke, *l.c.*, p. 142.

¹⁷ A. Reichardt, "Paul Hassel", *Biographisches Jahrbuch und deutscher Nekrolog*, 9: 223-224 (Berlin, 1908).

¹⁸ Meinecke, *l.c.*, p. 142.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *L.c.*, pp. 142-143.

²¹ *L.c.*, p. 143.

fusion and organizing all of the holdings of the archives on the basis of one thoroughgoing principle of arrangement,²² but failed to mention Lehmann's leading role. This it seems can be explained. By 1902, Lehmann's relations with the former colleagues and friends at the Berlin Archives had become badly strained. In his Scharnhorst biography, Lehmann had smashed the conservative historical interpretation of the Wars of Liberation, and his thesis that the Seven Years War had been provoked by Frederick the Great, had resulted in a complete break between him and the official Prussian historians. His name had become unpopular. Lehmann himself, in his autobiography, claimed the principle as his personal contribution without mentioning the names of his collaborators: "I found it possible to effect an improvement in the organization and arrangement of the Archives on the basis of the principle of provenance which nowadays I think has become generally accepted; that was important for the Archives, not unimportant for the State."²³ Just as Bailleu did not see fit to pay tribute to the former colleague who had broken away from the official creed of Prussian historians, Lehmann in turn failed to remember that, as the protagonist in the fight for the new ideas, he had the valiant support of the younger group at the Privy State Archives.

For Lehmann, while he led the fight, did not fight it single-handed. Meinecke, who entered the Archives when Lehmann was still on its staff and who must have heard a great deal about the events that shook the Privy State Archives in the early eighties, acknowledges Lehmann's leadership,²⁴ but also the supporting role of some of his colleagues. He "in the first place", Meinecke says, "but also Bailleu and Hegert" insisted "on arranging the records on the basis of their historical provenance, that is, in actual accordance with the natural order in which they originated in the registry offices of certain individual agencies".²⁵ While the inadequacy of the existing practices of arrangement and the need for a different approach to the problem of arrangement seemed obvious to the younger group, while there must have been a frequent exchange of experience and much discussion of what should constitute the true principle of archival arrangement, it was undoubtedly Lehmann's energetic and dynamic

²² *L.c.*, p. 194.

²³ *L.c.*, p. 217.

²⁴ *L.c.*, p. 142.

²⁵ Similarly Reinhard Lüdicke in his obituary of Paul Bailleu, *Archivalische Zeitschrift*, 3rd series, 2: 290-291 (1925) speaks of the "reorganization of the records on the basis of the principle of provenance, initiated under the leadership of Max Lehmann".

nature that carried the new ideas through to victory. In this, his close relationship with Sybel, and his reputation as one of the up and coming men in the archives, if not in the historical field, must have been of major importance.

It seems ironic that one of the most far-reaching changes in archival theory and practice was brought about by a man to whom the archives profession was only a second best choice. Lehmann's inaugural address before the Prussian Academy of Sciences,²⁶ to which august body he had been elected after the publication of his Scharnhorst biography, stressed the importance of archives for research. "For all research in modern history must begin in the archives and that is why the archivist who approaches his task with a high sense of responsibility, will have some advantage over other scholars who visit the archives only occasionally." But "history is not just an abstract from documents,"²⁷ and "an accumulation of building stones, no matter how beautifully shaped, is not a building."²⁸ Throughout the address the emphasis was on the creative task of the historian, as Lehmann saw it, and not a word was said about the principle of provenance and his share in it.

His election to the Academy of Sciences, the Scharnhorst biography, and his leadership in the Privy State Archives had firmly established Lehmann in the first ranks of the profession. When people talked about his career they would wink their eyes as if to say: "The future director of the archives."²⁹ But that did not influence his decision when "finally, finally" he was offered a professorship in Marburg, which, in the fall of 1888, ushered in "the heavenly days of freedom."³⁰

From then on Lehmann was dedicated exclusively to his teaching and writing. The Scharnhorst biography was followed by his book on *Frederick the Great and the Origin of the Seven Years War* (1894) which caused violent protests on the part of the Prussian historians and unleashed a controversy such as European scholarship had hardly seen before, and by the biography of the Baron vom Stein. It, in turn, involved Lehmann in a scholarly feud of major proportions when his thesis of the influence of the French Revolution on the Prussian Reformers was attacked by Ernst von Meier. Lehmann continued to

²⁶ Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, *Sitzungsberichte*, 1887 (Berlin, 1887), pp. 633-635.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 633.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 634.

²⁹ Steinberg, *l.c.*, p. 221.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

fight for what he considered a good cause, against the majority of the German historians, always adhering to the conviction that "politics and history have no more dangerous enemy than chauvinism",³¹ that, in the history of our Western civilization, there are broad tendencies and relationships which transcend national barriers, and that, in the last resort, "all history is universal history."³² The man who in his youth had been considered "a conservative hotspur finally became an upholder of the Weimar Constitution, always remaining faithful to himself and true to his character."³³

In a life so full of achievement and conflict, Lehmann's part in the discovery and implementation of the principle of provenance was a minor episode. But even if his dynamic personality could not find lasting satisfaction in the minutiae of archival work, we as archivists may be justly proud that a man of his calibre was one of us ; we should remember with respect and gratitude the debt our profession owes him.

ERNST POSNER

³¹ Steinberg, *l.c.*, p. 223.

³² Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, *l.c.*, p. 635.

³³ *Historische Zeitschrift*, 141, p. 450.

ON INDEXING MEDIAEVAL RECORD WORKS

A POET is said to be born and not made. A priest is a better priest if he has a vocation. Much the same is true of that harmless drudge, the indexer. The majority of writers feel themselves neither born, called, nor compelled to make an index, a task which they regard as an intolerable burden or, at best, a necessary evil. Some grapple conscientiously and often successfully with the tedious job ; others delegate it. It is, for example, not uncommon for an author to express thanks at the end of his preface to his wife, "without whose help the index would not have been made". The least scrupulous content themselves with a casual selection from the proper names in the printed pages with their page references, arranged in approximately alphabetical order. Some of the indexes to the classical county histories of the eighteenth century, such as those of Blomfield and Nash, did not aspire far beyond this ; and their work has had to be done again to satisfy modern standards.

An inadequate index is not always a fatal defect. Its importance varies inversely with the ease with which the book itself can be read. Fiction requires no index ; and casual comments and general reflections, whether on gardening or world politics, can be summarily treated. A friend of mine who indexed a selection of letters and was paid by the length of the text and not of the index was almost ashamed to take his money, because the chief correspondent was Dr. Young, whose letters had as little in them for the indexer as his better known "Night Thoughts".

Biography and history are in a middle category, and must be adequately sign-posted ; but they do not call for exhaustive indexing.

The Record Works with which this article is concerned are mainly books of reference. They are not intended to be easy reading and so are at the opposite pole from the novel ; and no one to whom the task is one of boredom should attempt to index them. It is significant that many books of reference, for example Gazetteers, Peerages and Who's Who, are indexes in themselves.

Fortunately there is a minority that enjoys indexing ; and like the acrobat of Notre Dame, they have no other oblation to make at the altar of learning. They may be players of Patience or students of statistics. They are in fact quietists who like to have their relaxation or do their work without interference from or with anyone else. I was in fact advised, some forty or more years ago by Mrs. Lomas, the editor

of Foreign State Papers, to make an index because it was like playing Patience without being absolutely unremunerative.

There is now a normal method of indexing Record Works. Well within living memory it was thought sufficient to index proper names ; but it is now recognised that the most arid collection has material for a subject index, even though it may require exhumation. The usual arrangement, with many variations, is now an Index of Persons and Places followed by an Index of Subjects. Persons, places and subjects form the content of every index ; but within this framework there may be minor variations. It may be convenient to separate persons and places, especially if the latter have so many local details of a small and well defined area that the resultant list is complicated and begins to resemble a subject index. For similar reasons a separate index of persons may be preferable for a volume dealing largely with the genealogy of a very few families. Obviously a book whose interest is largely linguistic deserves a glossary separated from the rest of the subject index. The subject index itself may be incorporated in a general index if the entries in it prove to be few and comparatively unimportant. Whatever the nature and form of an index, a lexicographical order is essential ; and this is almost all that an index of Persons and Places and a Subject index have in common.

Even with regard to the materials used they differ widely. The former, it is now generally accepted, can best be made on slips, which should be absolutely uniform in size for easy sorting ; those used in the Record Office measure five inches by three, but workers with a large handwriting may find six inches by four more convenient. As these slips have to be turned over rapidly while the work is proceeding, the use of a pencil instead of ink saves time and trouble ; but in these days when printing firms lack labour and paper, there is often a time-lag between the cup and the lip, that is, between compilation and publication, and the pencil should therefore be indelible.

A subject index, being akin to a digest, will have a comparatively small number of entries, and the references against each entry may be numerous ; and it is desirable at all stages to be able to see at a glance the shape it is taking. It is therefore better to make it in a book with many tags cut on the margin of the page for ease of reference. It is possible to use a fountain pen for this part of the index ; but even so it will probably have to be entirely revised and re-written before it is sent to the printer. If slips were used, it would be very difficult to see the underlying structure ; the trees would hide the wood.

The use of fountain pen or pencil is a matter of individual preference ; the ideal is a book interleaved with blotting paper.

In considering Persons and Places, priority may be given to Persons even by those who are more interested in topography than in genealogy. When the two are divided, the index of Persons is usually printed in front of the other ; when they are combined, the usual description is an Index of Persons and Places. The genealogist will instinctively turn at once to this section with his eye mainly on persons ; and the indexer, remembering that it is his first duty to be serviceable to his readers, should try to make his work easy and clear to the genealogist. There will be one or two problems to solve.

When there are numerous references to many members of the same family, it may be advisable to arrange them in the order of a pedigree, beginning with the earliest ancestor and proceeding from generation to generation. I had many years ago to index the Middleton Papers for the Historical Manuscripts Commission. Its substructure, concealed by numerous offshoots, in prose and poetry, in Hebrew, Latin, French and Welsh, was the story of a family which had the name of Bugge in the thirteenth century, glorified into Willoughby before the next century, and which then came down generation by generation until the time of Francis Willoughby, sheriff of Warwickshire in 1649-50. Its successive members used up all the letters of the alphabet and duplicated them down to K K, filling eleven columns. In this case an alphabetical arrangement would have been unhelpful.

This is, however, exceptional ; forenames should normally appear after the surnames in alphabetical order. If relationships are shewn, it is best to centre them on the member of the family who is prominent at the time to which an entry relates. This is more likely to produce a proper balance than an attempt to show kinship to the earliest member of a family to be mentioned.

There was at one time a tendency, especially in France, to prefer Christian names to Surnames for the order of entries. Historically this can be justified ; for there is no doubt that they were the earlier. The use of the term Christian name is, of course, a convention which must sometimes be abandoned in favour of Forename. I once shewed Mr. A. E. Stamp, then Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, an experimental list of names which I had called Christian names. He merely observed that it was a pity the list began with Aaron, Abel and Abraham. There is little to be said about the forms under which these forenames should be indexed, except that English forms are preferable to Latin form. Doun, Bevis and Otes are at least kinder to the ear

than Dodo, Bogo and Odo. The Wardour Street Latinisms of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Matilda, Reginald, Nigel and Alured for Maud, Reynold, Neal and Alfred, are specially repellant.

The reason why surnames should be preferred to forenames and the reason why the former came into use is the obstinacy with which the mediaeval man clung to a few chosen favourites. In England this was especially marked in the ruling class. In any list of knights, Robert, William, Richard, John and Henry are sure to constitute a majority, though there may be a few exotics such as Doun Bardolf, Genteschieu le Pour and Suspir de Bayeux. In the case of their wives the preponderance of Maud, Alice and Margery is even more marked, although once fancy roamed free there was an unlimited range of girls' names. In the last volume of *Curia Regis Rolls* (Vol. VIII) Anastasia, Benigna, Dameta, Flandrina, Imagantia, Odierda, Osanna and Sexiva shew an imaginativeness almost unknown in the Twentieth century. In the governed Saxons the changes rung among a number of radical prefixes and suffixes produced far more variety; but they did not often find their way into the chronicles of the time. Soon after the Conquest some means became necessary of identifying the many Roberts and Williams with whom the officials in the Exchequer, the Courts of Law and the Chancery had to deal.

During this process, which took place mainly in the twelfth century, four identity tests were used; and they answered questions as to paternity, place of origin, occupation and personality. William might be identified as the son of Roger, Henry came from Weston, 'from' being possibly a better translation than 'of' in Latin names. John was a Baker, Ralph was a young man and Peter was lame.

Patronymics present no difficulty. It is perhaps best to group them together under the father's forename, though they are sometimes brought together under 'Fitz' or 'Son of' and almost form a separate section of the index. It is, however, important that one method or the other should be used throughout; and it is also certain that towards the end of the period when noble families bore the names of Fitzgerald, Fitzwalter and the like, some confusion becomes inherent in the use of the second of the two plans.

Names derived from place of origin give rise to one question. Is it advisable to identify the place? The information often helps the reader; but on the other hand, it may involve prolonged search, especially in cases where it has the least value. It will undoubtedly assist a searcher to know that Richard from Sutton came from Long Sutton in Hampshire and not from Sutton Poyntz in Dorset; but this infor-

mation is generally either obvious on the face of the record or the result of recondite study. Perhaps on the whole it is wiser to leave the interested reader, who may have local knowledge, to solve the problem by himself to his own satisfaction.

It is with regard to surnames derived from nationality, status, occupation or personal peculiarity that the greatest doubt still subsists. It is true that for some centuries many of them were little more than nicknames; and even the Book of Fees, which may be regarded as a model index, has grouped them under forenames with cross-references from the surnames. It is also true that a list of some fifty Clerks or some twenty Bakers may be uninformative. On the other hand, the Index to the Book of Fees is not helpful when it assembles a column of Johns including constables, clerks, cooks, millers and porters, Jacks of all trades in fact. In the case of William the list extends almost to three columns. It is also impossible to specify the exact point at which John Cook was so called, not because he himself worked in the kitchen, but because he was the son of his father, the cook. On the whole there seems no adequate reason for departing from consistency and selecting the first rather than the second name for indexing.

Unlike names of persons of local origin, there is no doubt that place names should be identified as often as possible, even when long research is involved. A friend of mine who produced competent indexes said to me that no place name was worth more than twenty minutes search. This is a Laodicean counsel to be generally ignored but containing a vestige of worldly wisdom. In the Eastern counties, especially in Norfolk, adjacent parishes, described as East and West or Great and Little, or by the dedication of the church, have often little else to distinguish them; and if twenty minutes search gives no clear evidence, contiguous places such as South, East or West Rainham, Walpole St. Andrew or St. Peter need only be identified as Rainham or Walpole.

These are not the double names which have contributed to the beauty of English place names. There is music in such names as Sible Hedingham, Christian Malford and Minster Lovell. They relate generally to tenure rather than locality. They are to be found everywhere and have spread in profusion northward to Shropshire and eastward to Essex from the South-West counties (always excepting Cornwall which has a hard law of its own in the matter of place names). They are most numerous in Somerset, Wilts and Dorset and least numerous in Danelaw. In the immediate vicinity of my birth-place, Warminster in Wiltshire, there are Norton Bavant, Fisherton

Delamere, Upton Scudamore, Chitterne All Saints, Codford St. Peter, Sutton Veny, Maiden Bradley, and the five Deverills, Hill, Longbridge, Kingston, Monkton and Brixton. One half of each of these names can be regarded as a substantive and the other as an adjective. The first three belonged to the families of Bavant, Delamere and Scudamore; the next two were distinguished from their neighbours by the dedication of their churches. Sutton Veny was partly in the fenny ground or marshes of the Wylfe. At Maiden Bradley there was a hospital for leprous ladies. The Deverills derive their name from a tributary of the Wylfe which is said to dive or disappear in its passage through the Downs. Hill and Longbridge Deverill are named from visible features; and the other three from their lords. All these double names should be indexed under their substantive part, with cross-references where necessary, even though it may go against the grain to index Kingston Deverill and Monkton Deverill under Deverill, while Kingston-on-Thames and Nun Monkton are indexed under Kingston and Monkton.

The identification of place names is the most exciting part of indexing. Even the quietist forgets himself and thinks in terms of the chase and the detective novel. When Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte re-formed the Testa de Nevill into the Book of Fees he realized that this identification was the corner stone of his work and he entrusted it to the most learned and intellectually alert members of his Staff. Workers in the Record Office Library always knew when the hunt was on and seemed to hear the View Hallo. They could follow the chase. In the excitement of the moment books were not replaced (gates were left open). A small pile of books generally meant a check; a large pile was the scene of the death, or, less frequently, shewed where the fox had gone to earth. Rapid movement and manual labour were involved; and when the Master returned to his room and sank into his chair, he observed that Index making was not a sedentary occupation. As indicated above, it often happens that obvious clues prove false, and in the end there may not be much resemblance between the modern name and its mediaeval equivalent. This does not matter if the internal evidence from the history of the place is convincing. No one at first recognises the absent-minded but benevolent entomologist as the man who committed the crime.

Local knowledge has its uses and occasional dangers. A farmer or a hunting man may know field names which have preserved the names of departed hamlets. On the other hand, Oxford men who had found their way to the ancient village of Islip might easily identify

Slepe in Oxfordshire with it and pride themselves on their local knowledge. They would, however, be wrong. Islip never discarded its first syllable ; and Slepe is now Slape, a hamlet of Wootton, a few miles to the west.

There is one useful convention in the indexing of place names. Many of the early county historians, such as Hasted, Collinson, Thoroton and Hunter, made the ancient parish the unit of their work ; and in modern times their example has been followed by the editors of the Victoria County Histories and by the Place Name Society. It is a real boon for those engaged in local research, who will find all the information they want under one heading and need not search through an index for every small barton and field in their parish.

A subject index is in some ways the antithesis of an index of persons and places. The entries in the former should be relatively few but very full ; in the latter they should be numerous and concise. The indexer of subjects should first of all form a clear idea as to the various purposes for which the book will serve. The social and economic researcher, the student of legal, constitutional and ecclesiastical developments, the genealogist and topographer, have different interests ; and it should be the object of the indexer to reduce to a minimum the number of headings they will each have to consult and to gather as much information as possible under each of them. Many special headings suitable to each class of reader will emerge naturally from the contents of the book ; but more general headings, under which miscellaneous entries can be collected, are very important. They may include Historical Events, Foreign Affairs, Legal Procedure, Constitutional Development, Ecclesiastical Matters. Cross references should be lavishly supplied ; and in suitable cases long entries should be subdivided. Alphabetical lists of names of castles, ships, religious houses and the like are a useful part of such an index. It is often necessary to index one piece of information which may be useful to several types of searchers in several places. An order for trees in Windsor forest to be cut for the repair of the king's castle should be indexed under Forests, Works and Castles ; and a reference to villein tenure by boon works in the autumn and by merchet should be indexed under Villeinage, Tenures, Agriculture and Marriage.

Terseness of statement should not be achieved at the expense of lucidity, since it is a waste of time for the reader to look up a passage and then to find that it does not help him. A very long string of references should also be avoided. Such an entry as "Westminster, the king at", with forty or fifty references, may break the spirit of the

conscientious and is neglected by everyone else. In such a case the word *passim* may be used and will inform the reader of a common form, practice or occurrence. The word may also be used for sections of a book in which it is easier and quicker to glance through the pages of the text than to look up a number of references separately.

Revision of the foregoing pages has left a fear that I have laid down the law overmuch and have been assertive where a diffident suggestion would have been better.

Dogmatism is certainly out of place. I have read several authoritative sets of instructions for indexers, compiled after much experience. They were all admirable as general guides, but none of them seemed exactly to fit the requirements of any single index. Consistency is in fact the indexer's will of the wisp, ever sought but never fully achieved.

If I have written with too much assurance, I must plead as my excuse that I made my first index in 1904 and with only two intervals of not more than a few weeks I have been making them ever since. One of my motives may have been mercenary ; but I have got much quiet enjoyment out of the work and have tried to learn by experience.

CYRIL T. FLOWER

ARCHIVES AND WAR

WAR HAS never been anything but wasteful and destructive, whether we agree with St. Augustine that some wars are just, or with Erasmus that no war is just. Recently man has overreached himself, and has achieved the ability to destroy not only himself, but with himself the complete documentation of his culture. This has been said so often of late that it already is a truism, but it must be said here once again as the point of departure. What can we do about it?

No one would be so presumptuous as to believe that he could sum up in the compass of a short paper the historical background of the problem, or that he could set forth all the facts upon which constructive thought must rest. Perhaps no one person could or should attempt to do it in any form. But the feeling of great urgency weighs so heavily upon me that I believe it would be a neglect of duty not to add my voice to the cry, "What can we do?"¹

Throughout the more recent recorded history of mankind, in the periods of classical Greece and Rome, in the Alexandrian and Byzantine periods, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the Napoleonic period, the current times of World War I and II, libraries and archival buildings, along with their precious contents, have suffered grievously from deliberate or inadvertent destruction. But even in one or more of the earlier periods an occasional voice was raised against the wantonness of removing, damaging, or destroying cultural materials.² More recently many voices have been heard, with the result shown in the annexes to The Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, and the draft convention, never promulgated, prepared under the ill-fated League of Nations.³ Unfortunately, conventions signed

¹ The views expressed in this paper are the personal views of the writer and do not necessarily coincide with the views of any agency or institution.

² See, for example, the references in the excellent essays of Charles de Visscher which are cited in note 3.

³ The annexes to The Hague Convention of 1907 are too readily available in many sources to need citation here. The texts of a "Draft Declaration concerning the Protection of Historic Buildings and Works of Art in Time of War, 1939", the "Preliminary Draft International Convention for the Protection of Historic Buildings and Works of Art in Time of War" (ca. 1938), and the "Draft International Convention on the Repatriation of Objects of Artistic, Historical or Scientific Interest which have been Lost or Stolen or Unlawfully Alienated or Exported" which, with varying title went through three drafts in 1933, 1936, 1939, respectively may be found conveniently in English in *International Protection of Works of Art and Historic Monuments* (U.S. Dept. of State, Publication 3590, International Information and Cultural Series 8. Reprinted from Documents and State Papers, June 1949). The French texts may be found conveniently with Charles de Visscher, "Les monuments historiques et les oeuvres d'art en temps de guerre et dans les traités de paix", *Art et Archéologie, Recueil de législation comparée et de droit international*, 1940 (No. 2), pp. 9-44, which

by many nations are not enough. Until the millennium, perhaps, we must have positive action: action for prevention, action for salvage, action for coordination of exploitation and protection, action for restitution.

There is no lack of illustrative materials. But there is no need to give illustrative examples beyond those most recently occurred. While material in varying degree is available from a number of countries,⁴ I shall use only that from Germany and the United States.⁵

Shall we put our faith solely in preventive measures? In a letter dated February 13, 1942—just two months after the United States was precipitated into the cataclysm of World War II by the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour—Franklin D. Roosevelt, the President of the United States, wrote to the president of the Society of American Archivists urging strongly the efficacy of prevention: "At this time, and *because of the conditions of modern war against which none of us can guess the future*, it is my hope that the Society of American Archivists will do all that is possible to build up an American public opinion in favour of what might be called the only form of insurance that will stand the test of time. I am referring to the dupli-

was first published in *Revue de droit international et de législation comparée*, 1935, No. 2. A bibliography, as yet unpublished, of treaty obligations, agreements, and policies of the United States government respecting the international protection of works of art and cultural property has been compiled by Miss Ardelia R. Hall, Arts and Monuments Officer, Department of State.

⁴ See, for example, such items as C. Tihon, "Les Archives de l'Etat en Belgique pendant la guerre", *Archives, Bibliothèques et Musées de Belgique* 17: 3-13 (1940-46); Emilio Re, "Italian Archives during the War", *American Archivist* 11: 99-114 (April 1948); Hilary Jenkinson and H. E. Bell, *Italian Archives during the War and at its Close* (London 1947); "Les archives en France et la guerre", *Archives, Bibliothèques et Musées de Belgique* 16: 122-23 (1939); "Les destructions des bibliothèques et d'archives pendant la guerre", *Bibliofilia* 48: 76-78 (1946); J. V. Polisensky, "Present State of Czechoslovak Archives", *American Archivist* 11: 223-26 (July 1948); W. Suchodolski, "Archiwa polskie za okupacji (1939-1945)", *Archeion* 17: 54-83 (1948). See also such background items as "De archieven en de luchtbescherming", *Nederlandsch Archievenblad* 47: 33-64 (1939); D.P.M. Graswinckel, "Bescherming van archieven tegen oorlogsgevaar", *ibid.* 46: 51-62 (1938); Burkard, "Die Frage des Luftschutzes fuer Archive und Akteien", *Archivalische Zeitschrift* 44: 172-180 (1936); Hammer, "Luftschutz in Bibliotheken", *Zentralblatt fuer Bibliothekswesen* 52: 496-505 (1935).

⁵ The material for Germany is conveniently found, for archives, in *Der Archivar* which began publication in August 1947, and for libraries in Georg Leyh, *Die Lage der deutschen wissenschaftlichen Bibliotheken nach dem Kriege* (Tuebingen, 1947) and in a few other sources. All these I have listed in detail, analysed and discussed in my article "The Archives and Libraries of Postwar Germany", *American Historical Review* 56: 34-57 (Oct. 1950). The American material is most conveniently found in such sources as *Report of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas* (Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Office, 1946); the reports (unpublished) of the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Officers in the Field; the War Department Pamphlet 31-123: *Preservation and Use of Key Records in Germany* (Washington, 1944); the various handbooks on military government issued by the western Allies; War Department Pamphlet 31-103: *Field Protection of Objects of Art and Archives* (Washington, 1944); and the many other items which are listed in the bibliography of the *Report*.

cation of records by modern processes like the microfilm so that if in any part of the country original archives are destroyed, a record of them will exist in some other place".⁶ This reasoning is unimpeachable, but can the logic, extended to practice throughout the world, be translated into action? What would it cost? How long would it take?

The example of the remarkable project conceived by the American Council of Learned Societies, and financed by the Rockefeller Foundation, to microfilm the cultural treasures of Western Europe as protection against damage or destruction in war illustrates the magnitude of the task which confronts those who attempt a realistic plan. The speed of the war of aggression in the West drove the project off the continent into the British Isles. Even in that closely circumscribed area the filming had to be selective to a high degree. Even so the time was too short.⁷ It is not defeatism to say that it is already too late for reliance upon this method alone. Even if one could estimate accurately the hundreds of millions of dollars which would be required for the realization of a world wide effort toward protective microfilming, and even if one could guarantee the availability of the money required, and even if one could guarantee the use of all available equipment, still an unestimated, large number of years would be required for the completion of the project.

⁶ As quoted, taken from *Journal of Documentary Reproduction* 5: 130 (September 1942). The italics are mine. Just exactly one hundred and fifty years earlier one of Mr. Roosevelt's most distinguished predecessors, Thomas Jefferson, had written in the same vein. "Time and accident are committing daily havoc on the originals deposited in our public offices. The late war has done the work of centuries in this business. The lost cannot be recovered, but let us save what remains: not by vaults and locks which fence them from the public eye and use in consigning them to the waste of time, but by such a multiplication of copies as shall place them beyond the reach of accident". As quoted, this is from the source just given. In the postwar years UNESCO has urged all countries to make photocopies of their greatest cultural treasures and to deposit them in repositories widely dispersed throughout the world. See UNESCO, *Records of the General Conference, Fourth Session, Paris, 1949, Resolutions* (Paris, 1949), item 6.143: The Director General is directed "to encourage the establishment of a certain number of repositories in which a series of reproductions of the most representative and the most vulnerable works might be assembled". See also *id.*, *ibid.*, *Fifth Session, Florence, 1950, Resolutions* (Paris, 1950), item D. 25: "Ask Member States to establish, maintain or complete a photographic documentation of their monuments, works of art and other cultural treasures, to promote the exchange of this documentation, and to encourage the setting up of a number of depositories, in which reproductions of the most representative and vulnerable works may be collected".

⁷ I have discussed this point in connection with my remarks upon extensive projects proposed or executed by others e.g., in my paper "A National Plan for Extensive Microfilm Operations", *American Documentation* 1: 66-75 (April 1950), and "Microfilming Abroad", *College and Research Libraries* 11: 250-58 (July 1950). See also my remarks on the international aspects of extensive microfilm operations in my *Rapport Général sur les Archives et la Microphotographie* (Congrès International des Archives, Paris, Août 1950, 8 p.), and the communication of the Library of Congress, "The Foreign Microfilm Program of the Library of Congress", which was read at the First International Congress on Archives, the First International Congress on Classical Studies, and the Ninth International Congress on Historical Sciences, all in Paris, 1950.

Many persons are convinced that it is both impractical and impossible to build archival depositories which are at once suitable for daily peace time use and which will withstand direct attack by modern high explosives.⁸ The debate on the location of archival depositories in the centre or on the outskirts of modern cities is still going on.⁹ The proposal to provide distinctive protective markings for structures which are themselves of cultural value or which house cultural materials has never been adopted.¹⁰ What fruits will be borne of the new studies on this problem which are being conducted by UNESCO cannot be predicted.¹¹ Even the best fruits may ripen too late as did those of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation.

One can only conclude that some organization, both civil and military, which will plan realistically for unpleasant eventualities, which will become operational in the event of war or other cataclysmic disaster, is required. Such a civilian organization must assuredly partake of many of the elements of those organizations which did such splendid work in many countries with neither precedent nor time to aid them. The organization with the field units must profit from the lessons of the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Organization during the last war.¹² But this time archivists must not be so tardy in their planning in some countries, they must not be so hard to find in the field.¹³ Admittedly, what was done for archives in time of actual combat was done largely by art officers

⁸ An example to the contrary is the new municipal archives of Stockholm which is built into the side of a hill.

⁹ E.g., the paper of Wilhelm Winkler, "Soll bei Archivneubauten einem Zentralmagazin im Stadtbereich oder Teilmagazinen ausserhalb der Stadt der Vorzug gegeben werden?" at the 29th Meeting of the Society of German Archivists, Landshut, 19 September 1950.

¹⁰ See the draft convention, 1939, already cited above, article 7.

¹¹ UNESCO, Item 8. 6. 1. 5 of the Provisional Agenda, General Conference, Fifth Session, 5C/PRG/6, 27 March 1950: "Measures for Ensuring the Co-operation of Interested States in the Protection, Preservation and Restoration of Antiquities, Monuments and Historic Sites; and Possibility of Establishing an International Fund to Subsidize such Preservation and Restoration", 34 p. in all, mimeo. In furtherance of this objective a meeting of experts was held at UNESCO House on October 17-21, 1949.

¹² See, for example, the simple and forthright proposals in the report by the director of the State Bureau for the Protection of Monuments in the Netherlands, dated February 2, 1950, "Protection of Historic Monuments and other Works of Cultural Value in Wartime in The Netherlands", which is found conveniently as Annex II (5 pp) of the item mentioned just above in note 11.

¹³ It is significant that at the recent (first) meeting of the Constituent Assembly of the International Council on Archives held in Paris, August 21 and 22, 1950, there was introduced by Dr. Wayne C. Grover, Archivist of the United States, a resolution requiring the ICA to appoint a committee which shall review and appraise the experience in the last war in the protection of archives against the hazards of war, and which shall prepare recommendations for submission to the next session of the Constituent Assembly.

because archivists and librarians were not sent into the field. There is, however, more than enough in his own field to occupy the full time of each specialist. When priorities must be given, when something must be left undone the special field of the man at hand is not the one which is slighted.

Because I have the German material ready at hand, and because for five years at the headquarters of the Office of Military Government for Germany first as Archives Officer in the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Section, and later as Chief of the Archives-Libraries Section, I observed at first hand the effects of war upon cultural institutions such as museums, archives and libraries I shall confine myself to the obvious, and give by way of illustrative example the briefest condensation of German experience with planning, preparedness, ways and means of protection, evacuation, dangers, and similar matters.¹⁴

It has been pointed out that the archives in the northwest part of the U. S. Zone of Germany are mainly in the Rheinland which was a major military objective, and hence are badly damaged, whereas the archives in the southwestern part, which were not located in large industrial cities, not on the main highways, not near mines suffered only slight damage. Both state and municipal archives situated in large cities (for example, Frankfurt, Kassel, Nuremberg, Stuttgart) are usually seriously affected, whereas the archives in smaller centres such as Eschwege, Fulda, Friedberg, Gelnhausen, all in Hesse, are undamaged. The pattern for church archives is, of course, the same. The archives of the Roman Catholic Church, which habitually were established in smaller centres such as Limburg, Fulda, Eichstaett were saved. Those of the Protestant denominations, usually in larger centres such as Kassel, Darmstadt, Frankfurt, often were severely damaged.

In Wolfenbuettel, which for so many centuries has safeguarded the philosophic tractates of the medieval thinkers, one hears the voice of despair: "How can you plan, when all your plans get turned topsyturvy?"¹⁵ The writer doubtless had no need to recall the words of the poet, "All human plans and projects come to naught."¹⁶ One

¹⁴ What is not based upon personal observation is based generally upon the articles in *Der Archivar* already mentioned, and specifically upon those by Karl Wilkes, "Die Sicherung der nichtstaatlichen Archive der Rheinprovinz gegen Kriegseinwirkungen", *Der Archivar* 1: 177-82 (August 1948), and Georg Sante, "Lageberichte der Staats-, Stadt- und Kirchenarchive der Amerikanischen Zone", *ibid.* 1: 51-68 (January 1948).

¹⁵ "Wir haben die Erfahrung gemacht, dass jede noch so sorgfaeltige Planung durch unvorhergesehene Ereignisse durchkreuzt werden kann". *Der Archivar* 1: 112 (May 1948).

¹⁶ Robert Browning, *The Ring and the Book*, VII, Pompilia.

of his professional colleagues tells how many boxes of archives packed for evacuation were totally lost because 50 Kg of gasoline needed for transport was not available. Bureaucratic disinterest was no help.¹⁷ Nevertheless, in the north-western industrial area what has survived has done so largely as the result of planning. One must first know what exists, then plan what to do with it. In this the Archivberatungsstelle worked in closest cooperation with the Kunstschutz to its own advantage in the classification of materials, the protection of evacuated items, proper packing, transport, location of suitable evacuation locales, and the overseeing of these temporary repositories. As early as 1939 the Archivberatungsstelle gave its help to the cause of art in general no less than to municipal, ecclesiastical, and private archives. In September 1939 plans were completed for the evacuation of archives of the first importance along with works of art of the same category. In 1940 the push westward caused the evacuation of the archives of the second and third priorities.

Implicit in what has just been said is the reliance placed upon evacuation as the only protective measure of value. Many reports state the same explicitly. So important was this matter that evacuation sites were prescribed by the Reichskommissar fuer den Archivschutz in Berlin. On the other hand, good friendly relations with the local nobility always guaranteed available space in isolated castles. Ideally the evacuation sites shall be tested for temperature and humidity before materials arrive, and each four weeks thereafter. The packings must be opened and spot checks made. On the types of sites most suitable for prolonged storage of cultural materials opinion differs widely.¹⁸ Completely isolated, rural surface structures or sub-surface repositories are favourites. Opinion is divided upon the method of packing and evacuation.¹⁹ Those whose treasures

¹⁷ "Dabei allerdings auch nicht verschiesen werden, dass bei gewissen Verwaltungsstellen eine erschreckende Interesslosigkeit fuer diese Bemuehungen um die Erhaltung der rheinischen Kulturgueten festzustellen war. . . . Soweit moeglich, leistete die Provinzialverwaltung auch Hilfe . . . waehrend die Hilfe der Regierungs- und Parteistellen weit hinter den Versprechungen zurueckblieb. Von einigen Dienststellen wurde uns sogar das Draengen auf rechtzeitigen Abtransport der Kunst- und Archivgueter als Defaitismus ausgelegt. . . . Wenn die Archive der Staedte Emmerich, Rees, und Wesel sehr hart mitgenommen worden sind, so liegt die Schuld dafuer ausschliesslich bei den damals verantwortlichen Amts- und Parteidienststellen, die noch Ende 1944 unser dauerndes Draengen auf Verlagerung der Archivbestaende nur mit besserwissenwollenden Hohnlaecheln beantworteten". *Der Archivar* 1: 179-181 (May 1948).

¹⁸ For example, one reporter prefers coal mines to potash mines because the latter are less fire conscious and less modernly equipped; another reports damage as the result of coal dust and moisture in coal mines.

¹⁹ For example, one reporter argues the obvious, that the bundles of records placed in packing cases remain together and are quasi-arranged; another, arguing from fresh

were removed from the west to what is now the Russian Zone are emphatic in decrying evacuation locales distant from the original site. Others argue the same point for another reason; namely, that local supervision is not enough and not always dependable, so that repositories must be within easy travelling distance for professional staff overseers.

The major sources of damage or destruction, in addition to that resulting directly from combat, are moisture, mould, insects, rodents, salt, fire, water, accidents during transport, plundering, wilful destruction by troops. Against such destructive forces microfilming is a widely advocated safeguard. Opinion differs sharply upon the efficacy of fire resistant paint, impregnation of wood, sand buckets, stirrup pumps, fire extinguishers. There is, however, a general expression of the need for and the effectiveness of some types of planning; namely, establishing evacuation priorities, stock piling of boxes, packaging of rare items, evacuation of upper floors, selection of evacuation sites, early implementation of plans and co-ordination.

In the articles to which I have referred in the notes the Germans have not said much about structural materials, but they do not need to. Anyone who has seen with his own eyes what happens to a modern steel and concrete archival or library building after a direct hit or a near miss by a high explosive bomb does not need to be told how utterly ineffective are such structures. No one who has seen all floors, together with the residue of their former contents, piled in a tangled heap of rubble in the excavation of the basement needs to be told what happens as the result of the intense heat generated by thermite bombs which softens steel, causes girders to buckle, one floor to fall successively upon another. The structural fallacy of open stairways, open elevator shafts, open deck stacks is too obvious to need comment, and too common not to induce the gravest concern for the future. There appears to be much to be said in favour of the old stone arch which does not easily allow collapse of floorings and which may, but not necessarily will, be thick enough to be a non-effective conductor of heat and so help to confine the fire to the floor of origin. Anyone who has seen the many Gothic structures such as the Muenster in Freiburg i.B., or the Muenster in Ulm, or the Cathedral in Cologne, or the Muenster in Aachen which stand without structural damage from bomb blast even though they now rise from a desert of demolished buildings cannot fail to be im-

experience, advises against packing cases since they invite destruction from DP's and others who break them open in search of plunder.

pressed with the apparent efficacy of the buttress, the vault, the free air space of windows. If future repositories for books and archives are to remain above ground, a restudy of their structure seems clearly to be indicated.²⁰

Engraved upon the stone of the National Archives of the United States of America are the words, "What is Past is Prologue". I accept that view. Let us therefore examine the immediate past and plan for the immediate future. Whether we study the written record in the manner of historians, or whether we garner our knowledge from the analysis of ruins in the manner of archaeologists, or whether we reflect upon verbal accounts of witnesses in the manner of the contemporary publicists, certain facts clearly emerge, certain responsibilities clearly are indicated. In time of stress conventions may or may not be reliable media of protection for cultural materials. Archives, along with other historical and cultural documentation, whatever its form, are susceptible to severe damage. Modern buildings cannot withstand the super-technique of modern war. Reluctant, tardy, vacillating, or conflicting authority produces its historically predictable result. "Too little and too late" is the norm. At the risk of bordering upon blasphemy, one may apply to the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Officers of the last war the noble words which Mr. Churchill applied to the gallant pilots of the RAF: "Never have so many owed so much to so few".

Let us not depend again upon so few. The immediate preparation of national and international plans for the protection of our common cultural heritage is, in my opinion, no more evidence of defeatism, no more a tacit admission of impending disaster than is the planning, the staffing of the national and international Red Cross evidence that we all await with patient resignation the imminent destruction of life and property through fire, flood, earthquake, volcanic action, tidal wave, or hurricane. Yet modern "total" war is capable of wreaking havoc in as many minutes, over as wide an area, in the same degree as the forces of nature. If one accepts this view, then planning and staffing are a permanent peacetime function. Whether or not one argues for the creation of a civilian staff, to be paralleled and complemented by a military staff, as the Dutch are doing, is not the point here. It is perhaps a point to be settled by

²⁰ In 1946 I recommended a detailed analysis of war damage to German archival and library buildings by an expert commission composed of an archivist, a librarian, and a supervising architect. Although this suggestion was supported by one highly placed professional official in Washington, no action was taken. Now much of the visible evidence already has been lost.

circumstances peculiar to each country. But a military staff is a *sine qua non* for planning, and for operations in the active theatre of war.

I suggest that the cause of archives demands the acceptance of certain axioms, and the realistic application of those axioms to the problem. We may start first with the statement that rank is presumed to convey knowledge. Therefore the staff specialist, who is a civilian specialist that has changed into uniform, must be given rank adequate to his position and his responsibilities. I believe one could support the categorical statement that ranks in the last war were several grades too low. In the American army, at least, the Historical Division has recognized this significant fact and has increased its staff grades for field units. The importance of this concrete example cannot be overemphasised.

The second axiom is that rank and knowledge unsupported by authority are ineffectual. Anyone who has found himself in the position of an "advisor" can appreciate the point. The expert must be enabled to exercise his will. As the third point we may state that only as a permanent member of the official family of a field commander is the specialist in a position to exercise his will in the name of the commander. Jealousy of command authority must never be overlooked. Commanders are always suspicious of, and unlikely to seek assistance from those who come to them on a temporary basis from a higher echelon, and whose loyalty they know to be to that echelon.

As the fourth point we may adopt the tactical principle that desired objectives normally are obtained only as the result of adequate numbers, adequate equipment, adequate mobility. For the purpose here intended this means that the number of staff positions allocated, and filled, must be proportionate to the size of the field unit, the conditions in the area of operations, and kindred criteria. It means that assistance in the way of enlisted personnel, emergency materials, evacuation equipment must be provided for, guaranteed, and supplied upon demand. It means also that those responsible must have the freedom of movement which is attainable only through possession of organic transportation.

The often incompatible aims of those staff officers engaged in exploitation (e.g., intelligence work) and those engaged in protection is a problem only poorly solved in the past. No one will dispute the demands of "military necessity", the phrase which denotes the attainment of objectives with minimum danger to or loss of life, equipment, and freedom on the part of our own forces. Therefore one must concede to the exploiting staffs a high degree of priority.

Perhaps the intents of the two services, exploitation and protection, which are apparently diametrically opposed, are not in reality so opposed. Much better intelligence results could be obtained from material not ransacked chaotically. Much material damaged, discarded, lost, or destroyed in the hasty searches during combat has a value, a greater value in the post-combat phase of operations. The protection of this material as well as that clearly of historical or cultural value is the responsibility of the archivist in the field. It is therefore apparent that at some point in the field service the command responsibility for solving the conflicting aims should be united in one person, and that that person obviously should not represent the exploiting element. That a commander would accept this argument is, I am afraid, too much to hope for. Nevertheless I believe that it should, in fact, that it must be proposed.

Herodotus, the Father of History, tells us that he believes a plan is a first essential.²¹ Then let us have a plan. Let us plan to have a general officer to represent the cause of archives, the repository of history, in the councils of the great who will make history. Let us hope to see the cause of archives adequately represented, as it should be, in the staff of such a field force as the embryonic Western European Army. Let us, in fact, do something.

LESTER K. BORN

²¹ Herodotus, *Histories*, VII, Chap. 10.

A NOTE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF RECORDS CENTRES IN THE UNITED STATES

IN 1923, the Belgian Archivist, C. J. Cuvelier, taking note of the increasing burden placed upon the central archival repository by the overflow into its custody of relatively recent, active records, proposed that the ministries organize establishments for the custody of noncurrent records. These repositories, he said, should be directed by trained archivists who could register and arrange their holdings and give competent advice on further disposition of the records.¹ During the past decade, the concept of a governmental archival structure organized to permit a phase of responsible intermediate custody of records has taken firm root in the United States.² It is my purpose in this brief note merely to outline some of the reasons for this development and to mention one or two current happenings that bear on the matter.

In the United States, the organization known as the National Archives is itself a relatively new governmental enterprise, established in 1935. There was barely time for the first Archivist to assemble and train a staff before the pressure for space in the numerous agencies of the Federal Government began to upset the forecasts of those responsible for planning the construction of the National Archives Building. The great expansion of governmental activities during the economic depression of the 1930's and the later war years had the effect of crowding the accumulated archives of the Government out of the agencies and into the new central repository at a rate far in excess of what might normally have been anticipated. At the same time, the expanding Government was creating new records in such quantities and kinds as to appear to archivists to be literally overwhelming.

I think it is not too well appreciated by our colleagues in other parts of the world that the American penchant for the mechanization of work has extended as deeply into the office as it has into the factory. We have had—and indeed are still in the midst of—a technological revolution in office methods and machinery. Two principal factors press the revolution onward; first, the impulse to decrease costs and

¹ Ernst Posner, "Zentralarchiv und Ministerialarchiv," *Drei Vorträge zum Archivwesen der Gegenwart*. (Stockholm: 1940), pp. 68-69.

² Sir Hilary Jenkinson's excellent introductory notes to the *Guide to the Public Records* contains a brief mention on pp. 31-32 of comparable developments in England. Public Record Office, *Guide to the Public Records* (London: 1949).

increase efficiency by substituting machine methods for the slower, more expensive hand methods; second, the managerial necessity to improve the means of communication and control coincident with the growth of large-scale organization.

This movement toward mechanization of office work in the 20th Century has vastly increased the volume and variety of records produced. (I regret to say that the mechanization of clerical tasks, coupled with the telephone and other electronic methods of communication, has at the same time tended to decrease the quality of documentation in certain areas and at certain levels of administration.) At the National Archives, we have estimated on the basis of surveys made at various times that the Federal Government produced about twenty times the volume of records during the period 1917-1950 as during all its previous existence. It is now producing, each year, one or two times the total quantity that could be accommodated in the National Archives Building.

The problems both of quantity and quality of modern records have therefore been much on the minds of American archivists. We have had to do something about it, willy-nilly. Our efforts in this direction started about 1940 when a number of staff members of the National Archives, encouraged by my predecessor in office, Dr. Solon J. Buck, began infiltrating the major departments of Government and expressing their ideas on the subject of current records management. This, of course, was a departure from the traditional role of the archivist. I am sure it was no more startling to administrative officials than to the archivists themselves when the latter found themselves displaying a considerable disinterest in keeping for posterity the great bulk of paper being disgorged by the machines.

The archivists discovered an immense amount of disorder and waste and want of orderly methods in coping with the machine technology. They proceeded therefore to work with the appropriate administrative officials. They found these officials not only were badly in need of advice but, more encouraging, badly wanted it. The archivists were brazen enough—and perhaps I should say sufficiently desperate in the face of the morass of records that confronted them—not to be content with advice alone. They took a hand in carrying this advice into operation. One plan they began to effectuate rather soon in the largest governmental departments followed along the lines of M. Cuvelier's suggestion.

The first establishment of this character was organized by the Navy Department in Washington in 1942 and given the name

"records centre," a name that has since clung to such intermediate repositories. The Navy Department records centre was organized and directed by former staff members of the National Archives, as were similar establishments which soon followed in the War Department. The centres were to provide responsible intermediate custody for all types of noncurrent records, prior either to destruction of the records or their transfer to the National Archives. Some of the advantages argued for the centres were that they would conserve office space and equipment ; concentrate the administration and processing of noncurrent records among a relatively few agencies in which the efficiency and competency of the staff would be increased by full-time specialization ; avoid expensive and time-consuming effort by more or less irresponsible personnel in searching inaccessible "stored" files ; provide for the orderly disposal of records that, for administrative or legal reasons, must be retained for a fairly long period of time but need not be retained immediately at hand by the office of origin ; and assure the proper identification and preservation of valuable materials and their ultimate transfer to the National Archives.

From the point of view of the central archival repository the principal advantages of the system of records centres were that it assured responsible custody of noncurrent records in trained hands, avoided the loss of valuable materials through dispersion and carelessness, and relieved the central establishment from pressure to accession records too recent, too active, or of dubious value for permanent preservation.

The records centres of the War and Navy Departments proved their value, both in terms of economy and efficiency and of responsible archival custody, during the administratively hectic period of rapid demobilization at the end of World War II. Records of military and naval organizations that most certainly would have been lost had not an orderly system for their disposition existed, were not lost. In the handling of military personnel records alone, the system I am sure saved many a general and admiral from the bitter tongue-lashings that are the delight of our Congressional Committees. The service records of soldiers and sailors, discharged into the status of veterans and immediately eligible for all the benefits our country allows for honourable service, were ready and waiting to prove or disprove, as the case may be. War-time offices that evaporated overnight could still, as in World War I, leave their records to the ministrations of the charwomen, but mostly they did not. And when they did, some one usually got the message through to the records centre.

Among administrators, the popularity of the centres was indeed almost too great. By 1947, a "task force" on records management of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government (Hoover Commission) reported the existence of ".....more than 100 duplicating and overlapping records centres established. . . . by less than a score of the departments and agencies." The report recommended that a central agency be established "to operate fewer records centres to serve all departments and agencies. . . ."³ As a result of this and other recommendations of the Commission, a new and, I think, unique governmental organization was formed—the General Services Administration. The National Archives Establishment, with expanded responsibilities for the supervision of records management practices throughout the Federal Government, became a part of the new General Services Administration on July 1, 1949. Re-named the National Archives and Records Service, this organization has since been charged with responsibility for establishing and supervising a number of Federal Records Centres in order to carry out the Commission's recommendations. Four such Centres (one each in Washington, D.C., New York City, N.Y., Chicago, Ill., and San Francisco, Calif.) are in process of being organized (July 1950) and others will be established as funds and facilities become available.

The principal departure from Cuvelier's suggestion is that the new records centres will be under the same administrative directions as the central archival repository, thus avoiding any possibility of the growth of independent ministerial archives establishments. This is consistent with the National Archives Act of 1934, which presumed that all archives of the United States Government would ultimately come under the control of the Archivist of the United States.⁴

WAYNE C. GROVER

³ Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, *Task Force Report on Records Management*, (Washington: 1948), pp. 14-15.

⁴ Sec. 3, 48 Stat. L. 1122-1124.

THE PROTECTION OF ARCHIVES: SOME LESSONS FROM THE WAR IN ITALY

IT IS now more than four years since the last Archives Officer of the Allied Powers left Italy and the wartime work of protection of Italian archives, planned and initiated by Sir Hilary Jenkinson and Mr. Fred W. Shipman, was brought to a conclusion. In the intervening period details of that work, and an estimate of the losses suffered by Italian archives during the war, have appeared.¹ The purpose of the present note is not to repeat, or summarise, such material, but to indicate certain impressions left in the minds of those archivists who took part in a task that, though often tragic, was also instructive. Some of the lessons of the war period are perhaps relevant to archive administration in times of peace.

First and foremost amongst them is the great desirability of having available for each country a single general list of archive accumulations, arranged topographically. Under wartime conditions in Italy, such a list was the *sine qua non* of protection, for it was essential that the general orders issued to military formations to respect archive repositories should be made specific in their application. The list of Italian repositories compiled by Dr. Ernst Posner,² and Sir Hilary Jenkinson's more detailed List of Italian Archives,³ thus formed the basis on which the work of preservation was organised. Later developments in this connection were also important. With Allied encouragement, the Italian civil authorities and the Vatican set to work to compile comprehensive surveys of lay and ecclesiastical archives, similar in method and scope to the post-war English *National Register of Archives*. The significance of these general lists is very great indeed. Their primary function, in peace no less than in war, is to ensure the protection and preservation of archives, to avoid disappearance or dispersion, especially of smaller accumulations, through ignorance or neglect. But in addition they form a great outline guide to archive sources which, if kept up to date, will prove of untold value to the scholar; they may also incorporate references to such specific lists of separate archives as are available.

¹ Hilary Jenkinson and H. E. Bell, *Italian Archives during the War and at its Close*, London, H.M.S.O., 1947.

² Dr. Posner's list was compiled for the Committee of the American Council of Learned Societies on Protection of Cultural Treasures in War Areas.

³ Jenkinson and Bell, *op. cit.*, 43.

Again, wartime Italy provided useful experience in the peculiar problems that attach to the preservation of modern governmental archives. In general, the powers of survival of ancient records were found to be surprisingly great, but with recent archives the case was different. In part this distinction had a physical basis, parchment documents showing quite extraordinary resistance to the effects of exposure to damp and dirt. But aside from the question of the material on which records are written, there were other reasons why there was less loss of ancient, than of modern, archives. The bulk of the former, though often great, was manageable; well arranged and disposed, often by professional custodians, their appearance commanded respect, and they were that much less liable to casual dispersion. Modern archives, on the other hand, usually formed infinitely larger and less well organised accumulations that to the layman, soldier or civilian, were simply a mass of old papers, the preservation of which was of no matter.

The moral of this kind of experience is that there are psychological, as well as physical, factors to be taken into account in the preservation of archives. If the recent records of a government department are to command respect, they must be suitably arranged, packed and housed; perhaps—though of course under stringent safeguards—arrangements for the regular elimination of ephemeral matter also strengthens the chances of survival of such archives. All this is work that demands a high degree of technical experience and proficiency; it is a task for the archivist and not the filing clerk. The conclusion that most of us who dealt with the preservation of modern records in Italy felt to be inescapable was that the archivist should be concerned with such accumulations, in an advisory and inspecting capacity, even before they pass from the departments that have produced them into his official custody.

Lastly—and perhaps this impression remains the strongest of all—the abnormal situation of Italian archives during the war served to bring out the supreme importance of there being in existence a highly trained *cadre* of professional archivists. At the twenty-three *Archivi di Stato*, at the Sezioni, and at many of the smaller communal archives, and within the Church organisation too, there were able archivists, whose efforts—sometimes on their own initiative, sometimes in co-operation with the Archives Officers of the Allied Powers—went far towards minimising the damage of war and towards preserving the great riches of the archives of Italy. This point is

worth stressing, for it emphasises the fact that ultimately the fate of a country's archives depends on the men who act as their custodians. Attention to the training of those entering the archivist's profession will always reap, as it did in Italy, a rich reward.

H. E. BELL

PRIVATE ARCHIVES IN ENGLAND

IN A SHORT article it is impossible to do more than give a bare outline of this great category of English Records. Private Archives may best be defined as those documents which accumulate through the activities of individuals, firms and institutions, as opposed to those which normally gather in Government, Municipal, or Ecclesiastical Offices. This division is, however, by no means clear-cut as Manorial Documents come within the category, though certain powers of the Lords of the Manor represented a delegated Royal Authority and throughout the centuries officials, whether great officers of State or engaged in Local Government, often work at home and their documents are often found as official 'strays' among their family papers. It is still the custom for important public affairs to be discussed at the highest level in semi-private letters, another cause of the blurring of neat lines of demarcation of subject matter, though such correspondence must obviously be classed as private. Hence it follows that the courses of national events are sometimes more fully revealed in the papers of a great family than in the more formal documents of the Government Office. Historians also are realizing more fully the constant interplay of local and national activities, while for social and economic History, Private Archives are an essential basis.

Fortunately England possesses a vast quantity of such accumulations, possibly more than any other European country. The Saxon love of case law, as opposed to the codified Continental systems, demanded that Records should be kept for constant reference; Norman efficiency saw to it that this was done well. Hence there accumulated during the Middle Ages, quantities of Manorial, Legal and Financial Documents in every Borough and Manor House in the Country. When writing became common in the landowning class in the fifteenth century, letters began to find the same resting place, while in the 16th century the burden of administrative duties placed by the Tudors on the shoulders of the Ecclesiastical Parish gradually produced that mixture of ecclesiastical and civil documents which form the contents of the 'Parish Chest'. As a result every village has a number of such small 'repositories' of natural growth. The Local Government Act of 1888 added a number of new Archive making Authorities, the County, District and (Civil) Parish Councils.

No law governed the care of these accumulations, except for the fact that in each County a *Custos Rotulorum*, usually identical

with the Lord Lieutenant, was legally responsible for the care of the Records of Quarter Sessions, as was the Parish Priest for keeping Registers of Births, Marriages and Deaths, each owner, whether private individual, local official or ecclesiastic, did as seemed best in his own eyes, preserving or destroying as he willed. The *Custos Rotulorum* himself had neither rules nor oversight to guide him and in the middle of the nineteenth century the zeal of one actually led him to preside at an *auto da fe* of certain Quarter Sessions Records, then regarded as useless for practical purposes. In 1924, however, a new principle was introduced and one class of private archives, Manorial Documents, were placed by Act of Parliament, under the ultimate care of the Master of the Rolls. In spite, however, of this typically English freedom, destruction was a rare event. With the exception of the localized and quickly suppressed Peasants' Revolt of the fourteenth century, the Civil Wars did little harm to documents. The contesting parties were too hopeful of succeeding to their opponents' sequestrated estates to be anything but careful of such supports for 'title'. Occasionally the reforming iconoclast or the utterly careless cleared away older documents, sometimes fire or damp destroyed them, and, after the middle of the sixteenth century, scholarly 'collectors' removed the choicer specimens surreptitiously from their proper ownership. The lawyers saw to it that Title Deeds and Court Rolls were bundled in reasonable order and looked after, but otherwise the documents were normally stacked carelessly and seldom listed. The rare search for an older paper required for practical purposes often made the confusion worse, but sheer inertia was their strongest safeguard. It was less trouble to leave the mass untouched than to sort the legal wheat from the chaff, unless for practical purposes. Thus the amount of care allotted them slowly degenerated from the high standard of the mediaeval period, exemplified by the magnificent arrangement of the Deeds at Durham Cathedral. Historians took little interest in Archives till the end of the sixteenth century and though a great debt of gratitude is due to the researches of later Antiquaries, their handling of the actual documents left much to be desired.

In recent years, however, rapid changes have taken place. The introduction of the fifty-years title in 1874, since reduced to thirty years, had caused many lawyers and estate agents to lose all interest in the older title deeds, which often now do not pass to the new owner on the sale of an estate. The effect of rapidly changing social conditions is even more disastrous. Shortage of fuel in two wars has

resulted in the larger houses becoming damp; it is now rare to find a private accumulation unaffected by mildew. The reduced staffs of the larger estates have no time to take a practical interest in the older Records, while economic pressure is forcing the landowners to move into smaller houses, with inadequate space for the housing of their family papers. Fortunately steps have been taken to meet these dangers, though as yet on an inadequate scale. County Record Offices have been set up in all but seven out of forty Shires and some of the great Public Libraries are fulfilling the same function. These organizations accept whole accumulations of Private Archives, usually on long loan, and in return for their being made available to scholars, undertake to repair, arrange and list the contents. The response of the landowners to this scheme has been extremely generous and many great accumulations have been saved from destruction or disposal by sale. Though in many cases severely handicapped by shortage of staff and space, these Local Record Offices are doing magnificent work.

Working in close cooperation, though having no official connection with these Local Record Offices, is the National Register of Archives, whose foundation in 1945 as a branch of the Historical Manuscripts Commission is described in another article. Its primary aim is to register all the Archives in England except those of the Central Government, which are dealt with by the Public Record Office. It thus covers a number of other categories besides Private Archives. Such a central register should prove of great value to future historians seeking the sources of their studies. The central office is staffed by the Registrar, Assistant Registrar, two Research Assistants, a Chief Clerk, two assistant clerks and a part time typist, scarcely adequate in numbers for so vast a task. Reports on individual accumulations are received at the rate of about a thousand a year. In certain important cases these reports are the result of inspections by members of the staff but the great majority are sent in by voluntary helpers, who are grouped under a County or Area Committee. The general standard of these reports is remarkably high.

In the central office they are filed under the owner's name, all place-names are checked and the various classes of documents in each report are entered on index cards which are arranged geographically under the name of the Ecclesiastical Parish in which the Accumulation is physically located. Cross-references are entered under the names of other places covered by the documents in the report. In addition a

small and selective card index of prominent personalities and important subjects is being compiled. The amount of information available for the future scholar will thus be considerable. The reports themselves are designed in two stages, a simple form being designed for each. The first gives the name and address of the owner and a general outline of the contents of an accumulation by its main classes and covering dates. The second form, styled "Third Stage" as a previous second stage has been abandoned, is normally a simple list of documents in chronological order by classes: it may, however, according to the interests of the helper concerned, sometimes be expanded into a calendar. The reports are type-written or duplicated, copies being distributed to the owners, the Local Record Offices and the Area Committees concerned, thus keeping local interest and support alive. Experience soon proved that it was impossible to limit the work to the original aim of registration alone. The organization of County and Area Meetings led to a demand for a periodical, the 'Bulletin of the National Register of Archives' which is issued each year and to the holding of an annual conference, attended by over three hundred helpers. It was obviously little use listing documents in imminent danger of destruction from damp or dispersal. The Central Office has had to arrange for a considerable number of accumulations to be deposited at Local and other Record Offices, often a delicate and lengthy task. Important examples are the Wentworth Woodhouse Papers, deposited on loan by Earl Fitzwilliam and his Trustees at the Sheffield Central Library, containing, *inter alia*, a crate full of the great Earl of Strafford's Papers, four boxes of Edmund Burke's Letters and the Papers of the Marquess of Rockingham, Prime Minister from 1765 to 1766; the Earl of Radnor's loan to the Kent County Record Office of his Estate Papers and Manorial Records, commencing in the thirteenth century; a similar outright gift to the Wiltshire Record Office by the Marquess of Ailesbury, the earliest documents being the twelfth century charters of a Trinitarian Monastic House; and the gift to the British Museum by Mr. Dudley Perceval of the Papers of his ancestor, the Prime Minister who was shot in the House of Commons in 1812. These varied tasks keep the small staff inordinately busy and it is not surprising that the Register is not yet in a position to act as a general guide to scholars, though every effort is made to deal with the, fortunately few, queries received.

Much hard work and much education of the public must be undertaken before the Private Accumulations of England can be regarded as adequately cared for and the present rate of destruction makes the

problem urgent. Meanwhile what can the student hope to find to his purpose among such Archives? This will naturally depend upon the functions of those who made the accumulation, whether, say, in the main, a politically-minded family, landowners, large or small, a 'Service' or professional family, a group of savants or business men, with any conceivable combination of them all. It is, however, possible to make certain rough generalizations. The earliest type of documents are usually Deeds. The few Saxon Charters are usually of Ecclesiastical origin; private Deeds of the eleventh and early twelfth century are very rare but are more frequently found from the reign of Henry II onwards. A large mediaeval accumulation can be expected to contain a considerable number from the thirteenth century onwards, but many medium sized estates have no surviving records earlier than the sixteenth. Manorial Documents of the thirteenth century again are rare, but Court Rolls and Accounts become increasingly common from the reign of Edward II. Official Papers, 'strays' in private hands, are rare in the Middle Ages, but are well represented between the 16th and 18th centuries. In the 19th their place is often taken by semi-official correspondence. Correspondence of any sort is rare till the Tudor Period and from then onwards becomes increasingly voluminous; Diaries are few till the 18th century and so are early Business Records, which usually have survived only in private houses, a notable exception being the Day-Book of John Smyth, a leading Bristol Merchant; this covers the years 1537-1550. A few Business Firms have Archives dating back to the days of the later Stuarts. Parish Archives, such as Church-wardens' and other Accounts of the 18th and early 19th centuries, and occasionally even Registers of Births, Marriages and Deaths, are found in private hands.

Of particular interest to Indians should be the sources of Anglo-Indian History in private hands. These have as yet scarcely been explored but must be very considerable. Many English families whose members have served in India still retain their records. The great-great-grandson of an eighteenth century Civil Servant who rose to be acting Governor of Bombay possesses over forty volumes of his ancestor's letter-books and diaries, and another member of the same family has his own grand-fathers diaries and correspondence with Sir Charles Napier. A series of diaries of a family which for a hundred years were Calcutta Merchants are housed in a house on Salisbury Plain and the semi-official correspondence of a 19th century Secretary of State for India has recently been made available to scholars through

the offices of the Register. A recent bare report of the discovery of papers of the period of Lord Clive is being investigated.

The question of access to such papers is not an easy one. They are private property and, though the owners are usually most responsive, they have to contend with great difficulties. Archivists rightly advise them to take great care of their documents, few of which are listed, even if these are not in chaos. There is seldom anyone to invigilate, except the owner, usually a very busy man. It is, therefore, only courteous that students should state clearly the importance of their research and offer adequate credentials before making what usually amounts to a request for free entry into a private house, a request which many generous owners dislike refusing. Where an owner has deposited his documents in a Local Record Office, this problem is, of course, solved.

To sum up, the future of these Records presents a great problem to the Archivist if they are to be preserved for generations to come. The cooperation of the owners is surprisingly generous, but modern conditions enforce a degree of urgency which is not generally realized. The Local Record Offices and the Register have made an excellent start, but greater resources are needed if their aim is to be achieved.

G. E. G. MALET

THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES AND THE CUSTODY OF WELSH RECORDS

IN ORDER to understand and appreciate the position of the National Library of Wales as a library and a record repository it is necessary to consider the background of its history. Acquaintance with even the broad outlines of Wales history cannot be taken for granted within the British Isles; therefore, readers of *The Indian Archives* can hardly be expected to know much about Wales and its past. It may be known vaguely as a geographical expression, standing for a mountainous peninsula on the western side of England, but only those who have visited the country are fully aware that a nation distinct from the English dwells here cherishing its own separate language derived from a branch of the Celtic group of languages which the Romans found in Britain, when Cæsar first crossed from Gaul, and maintaining in full vigour a literature which has an unbroken tradition of fourteen centuries.

The Welsh people possess all the main attributes of nationality save that of political independence. The nation has never experienced the discipline of a unified state co-extensive with the distribution of Welsh speech. The political development of tribal Wales in the direction of a centralized state was frustrated by the ambitions of the English Plantagenet kings in the thirteenth century, and the nucleus of a state established by the Welsh princes became annexed to the English Crown in 1284. For the succeeding two hundred and fifty years the remainder of the territory of modern Wales and the English border continued to be divided into a complexity of lordships, of varying size and importance, which the Normans had left as the legacy of their policy of conquest in the West. There was no national centre into which Welsh manuscripts and records could be drawn. There was one brief period in the first decade of fifteenth century when a Welsh sovereign state west of the rivers Mersey and Severn seemed to be within the grasp of the national hero, Owen Glendower. He concluded treaties with the Kings of Scotland and France and he discussed with the latter the metropolitan status of St. Davids and its independence of Canterbury and the establishment of two universities one in North and the other in South Wales. Owen's reign, however, proved to be lamentably short and his dreams were shattered long before his mysterious disappearance from the stage of history about 1416. The archives of his government like those of the earlier princes did not survive. The following seventy years witnessed

unification of a different kind in the lapse of an increasing number of Welsh lordships into the hands of the English crown. In 1485, this crown was vested in a Welshman, Henry VII, who won it on Bosworth field, mainly through the active support of Welshmen and the passive acquiescence of a large body of Englishmen. The Tudor dynasty laid the foundations of modern Britain as one unified state. In 1536, the English parliament—there was no Welsh representation—passed an act to incorporate the country or dominion of Wales in the realm of England, and to give Welshmen the same legal status as Englishmen, except that no person using the Welsh language could hold any office or fee unless he exercised the English speech. And there, to the mind of the English civil servant, the book of Welsh history should have finally closed. The purpose of the act was to delete all the distinguishing marks of Welshmen. The English shire system which had already been introduced into the ancient principality in 1284 was extended to the remainder of Wales, and the marches were parcelled into new Welsh counties or added to existing Welsh and English counties. The result was the thirteen shires of modern Wales. For administrative convenience, twelve of these counties were grouped into four circuits under a separate judicature which became known as the King's Great Sessions in Wales. Monmouthshire, apparently because of its greater accessibility to London, was linked with the English assize system centred on Westminster. The separation of Wales in judicial matters in time gave rise to the expression 'Wales and Monmouthshire,' as if Monmouthshire was not part of Wales. The Welsh judicature functioned until 1830, when the twelve counties joined Monmouthshire within the orbit of the English assize. The Courts of Great Sessions were virtually a national institution, and the records of their activities for three hundred years, which were removed from Wales to London in 1854 and subsequent years, constitute the most important body of Welsh national records.

Tudor legislation failed in its purpose of annihilating Welsh nationality. The chief factor in Welsh resistance and survival was the virility of the Welsh language. The Tudor policy towards the language was effective only in the upper and official classes. The common people clung tenaciously to their ancient speech and literature. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries religious and cultural awakenings infused fresh life into the Welsh language and its literature, which enabled the language to survive the anglicisation of large areas of the principality through the industrial revolution, and consequent English infiltration, helped by an alien system of education which

at first ignored the national language entirely, and which, even today, fails to give it the patronage normally given to the mother tongue by politically independent nations. The contribution of the Welsh language to the survival of Welsh nationhood explains the predominantly cultural characteristic of Welsh nationalism in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century. The University of Wales, the National Museum, and the National Library are the principal monuments of this cultural nationalism.

The primary purpose of the National Library, as set out in its Royal Charter of foundation in 1907, is the collecting, preserving, and maintaining of manuscripts, printed books, and works of all kinds, especially those composed in Welsh or any other Celtic language or relating to the antiquities, language, literature, philosophy, religion, arts, crafts and industries of the Welsh and other Celtic peoples. It is also empowered to collect and maintain all literary works, whether connected or not with Welsh subjects, composed, written, or printed in whatsoever language on whatsoever subject and wheresoever published, which may help to attain the purposes for which the University of Wales and its constituent colleges and other educational institutions existing in Wales were created and founded, especially the furtherance of higher education within the meaning of the Education Acts from 1870, and of literary and scientific research. Within a few years of its establishment at Aberystwyth in 1909 the National Library had pre-eminently fulfilled the primary object outlined in its charter. This success must be attributed both to the foresight, generosity, and industry of its founders, particularly its first president, Sir John Williams, and to the goodwill which Welshmen everywhere showed towards this young national institution. Some collections of Welsh manuscripts had already found permanent homes in old established institutions, such as the British Museum and the Bodleian Library. Cardiff City Library had been building up its Welsh collections of manuscripts and printed books for some years before the establishment of the National Library and naturally continued to do so. To a lesser extent the Library of the University College of North Wales at Bangor was also a competitor in the same field. The success of the National Library of Wales is particularly remarkable when it is considered that it had to establish itself without the aid of the integrating influences of political independence and the environment of a capital city. From its very inception, the National Library stepped easily into the first place among libraries interested in the collection of the manuscript and printed sources of Welsh

literature and history. In 1911, the success of the secondary object envisaged in the charter was assured when the Library was added to the list of libraries in the British Isles which are entitled to demand the deposit of books under Copyright law.

The founders of the National Library were also interested in the creation of a Welsh Record Office for the collection and preservation of Welsh local records. The terms of the Charter did not exclude these records from the National Library. Indeed, when subsidiary papers of the Courts of Great Sessions of date later than 1660, which were condemned as being of insufficient value to be preserved in the Public Record Office, were offered to the Library as an alternative to their destruction, in 1909, they were readily accepted and became the first fruits of the National Library's collection of public records. The tendency, however, was to regard the proposed Public Record Office for Wales as a distinct and separate institution. In October 1910 a royal commission was appointed to enquire into, and report upon, the state of the public records and the local records of a public nature of England and Wales. Between 1912 and 1919 it published three reports which have considerable bearing upon the custody of Welsh records. The first report advocated the establishment of a general repository for Welsh records in Wales, and recommended the return to this proposed repository of all Welsh records transferred to London since the establishment of the Public Record Office in 1838. Nothing came of this recommendation, though the commissioners repeated it with greater emphasis in their third report in 1919. They urged that the Public Record Office for Wales should be established without further loss of time, and that certain classes of local records, such as those of town trusts and other statutory authorities, the early records preserved in the district probate registries, early title-deeds and other estate records relating to the Welsh dioceses should be transferred to the Public Record Office for Wales. A member of the commission, Mr. Llewelyn Williams, M.P., had unsuccessfully introduced a bill into Parliament to create such a Record Office. The time was not propitious for the establishment of a new Welsh national institution, but then and in the succeeding years the need for a repository for Welsh records became increasingly urgent. Fortunately, the National Library was able to afford all the facilities which a Public Record Office could offer.

Most of the records which the commissioners had in mind in 1919 are now deposited in the National Library of Wales. The Welsh Church Act of 1914, by which the Anglican Church in Wales was

disestablished, had provided for the lodging in the National Library of the residue of records relating to the property vested in the Commissioners of the Temporalities of the Church in Wales when no longer required by them in the execution of their duties under the Act. Now that the Commission has been dissolved since 1947, all these records and those created by the Commission itself during its thirty-three years' duration have been placed in the National Library. The Presbyterian Church of Wales deposited its archives in the National Library in 1934. In 1944, the Church in Wales placed on deposit all the older episcopal, diocesan, and chapter records hitherto preserved in the cathedrals and diocesan registries of the four ancient Welsh dioceses of St. Davids, Llandaff, St. Asaph and Bangor. This decision on the part of the Representative Body of the Church in Wales is a landmark in the history of British Archives. The vast collection of historical records accumulated at the ancient centres of the oldest institution in the principality now became available for the first time at an established and central place of research. These records date from the year 1397, and are computed to consist of some two million items. The conditions of the deposit envisage the collection of church records which have strayed out of official custody, and a development in the centralization of ecclesiastical records of a local character including the older parochial registers and vestry books, a large percentage of which are in need of repair and rehabilitation.

The deposit of the Church in Wales records was logically followed by a direction issued in 1945 by the President of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice, with the consent of the Lord Chancellor, for the lodging in the National Library of all the Welsh ecclesiastical probate records prior to the year 1858 which were in muniment rooms of district probate registries of the High Court at Bangor, Chester, Carmarthen and Llandaff. Until 11 January 1858 jurisdiction over wills or administrations of the estates of deceased persons in Wales had been vested in the episcopal courts of the four ancient Welsh dioceses, and the records were preserved at the diocesan registries. The officials in charge of the district probate registries welcomed the removal of the older records to the National Library. They were more conscious than any research worker that the facilities offered by the National Library would make the records much more open to research than their own limited space and resources could allow. A third class of records at one time preserved in the diocesan registries has been received into the National Library. It consists of instruments of tithe apportion-

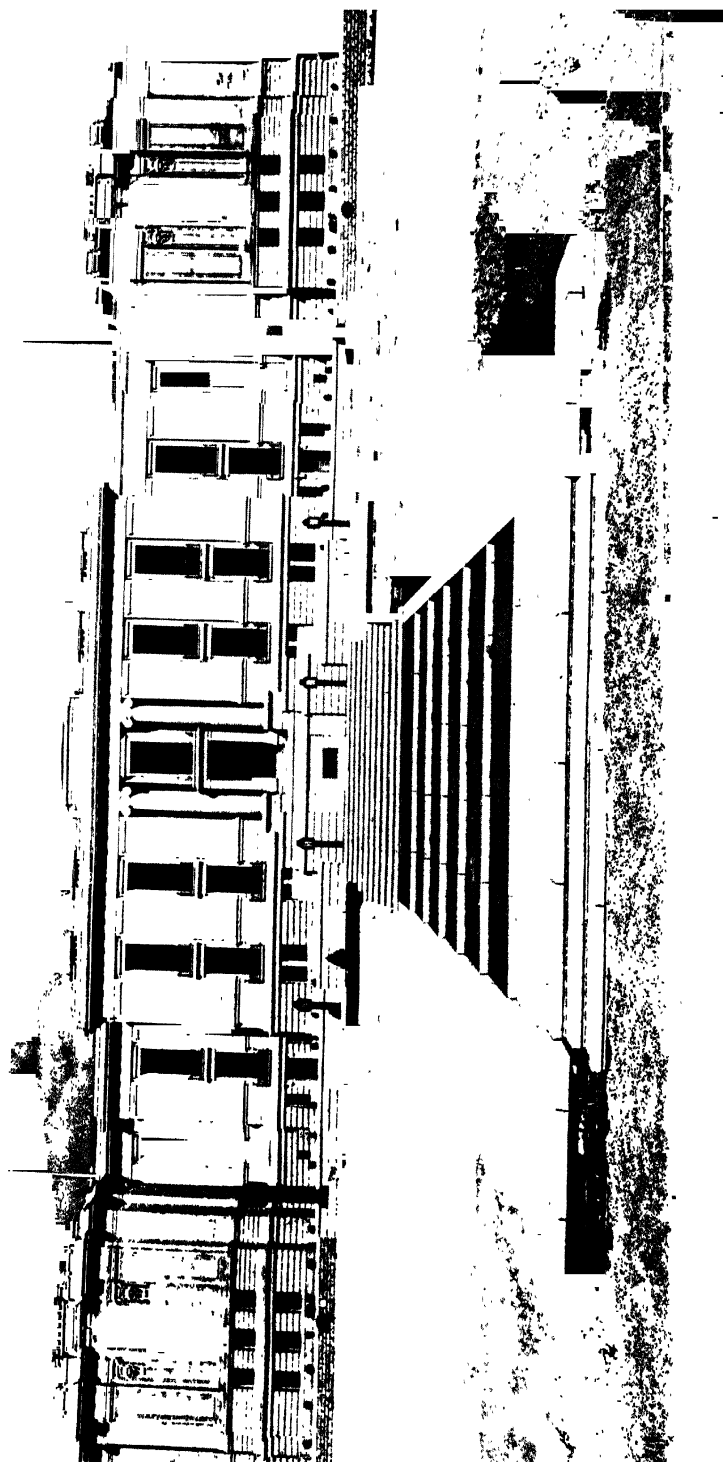
ment for Welsh parishes with maps made about 1840. These records are invaluable for students of place-names, development of communities, and the utilization of land. The tithe records were received under a series of directions made by the Master of the Rolls in 1945. The National Library had been placed on the Master of the Rolls' list of approved depositories for manorial records in 1926.

These deposits of local records, and it is clear from the history of the principality that the records collected into the National Library are essentially local in character, have made the Library virtually the national records repository for Wales. His Majesty's Treasury has acknowledged the services rendered by the National Library as a records repository by the allocation of a proportion of the annual grant-in-aid for this purpose.

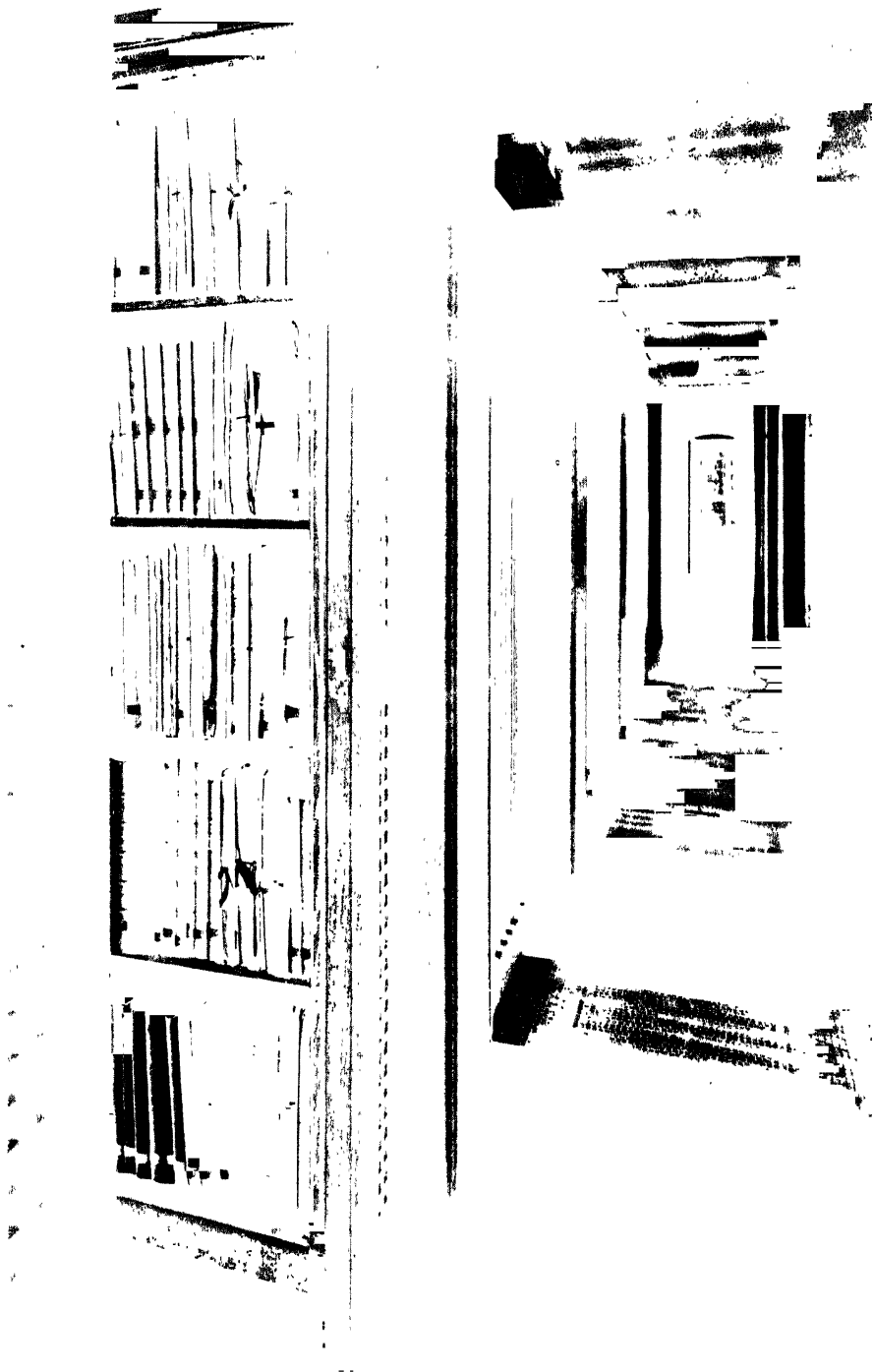
The official deposits are the culmination of a process which has been going on for over thirty years. The first large deposit of deeds and documents, over thirty thousand items, was made by a firm of solicitors from Haverfordwest in 1915. Since then, nearly three hundred collections of family and institutional records have been received. The deposits have been made by members of the higher ranks of the British peerage as well as by owners of more modest estates, firms of solicitors and estate agents, trustees of estates, educational, cultural, social, and industrial institutions, associations and concerns, ecclesiastical bodies, nonconformist unions and individual churches, and county, urban, rural district, parish, and town councils.

Under the deposit system the owner of a collection of documents retains the full right of ownership. He and his legal successors have the right to recall individual items or the entire collection should the need arise. The pressure of taxation, resulting in the shutting down or the conversion to other purposes of the old country houses, makes it necessary for many old-established families to look for suitable accommodation for their family papers, and in Wales there is no building comparable with the National Library as a home for evicted records. Each collection is kept separately and its integrity is maintained. Typewritten schedules are prepared giving the gist of the purport of each item in the collection. These schedules serve as receipts for the owners and as guides to the contents of the collections, thereby making them available for purposes of historical research.

These typewritten schedules are the primary keys to the deposited collections. Hitherto, and this situation is likely to continue for many years, it has not been possible to print the



The National Library of Wales—The Façade



The National Library of Wales—'The Manuscripts' Bays

schedules for a more general distribution. Full calendars of some of the early deposits were prepared and published in printed form. In the series of *Calendars of Deeds and Documents* three volumes were issued describing 'The Coleman Deeds', 1921, 'The Crosswood Deeds', 1927 and 'The Hawarden Deeds', 1931. In the class of family papers and correspondence a *Calendar of the Wynn (of Gwydir) Papers*, 1515-1690, was published in 1926, and a *Calendar of the Clenennau Papers*, 1485-1622, in 1947. The National Library's general collection is described in the *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, Vol. I, printed in 1921, and in the current *Handlist of Manuscripts* which is issued as a supplement to *The National Library of Wales Journal*, a half-yearly publication which is now completing its sixth volume of four parts each. Twelve parts of the *Handlist* have been issued. The *Journal* itself is designed to particularize the resources of the Library, and descriptions of deposited collections form a regular feature of each part. Brief descriptions of the principal accessions are printed in the Library's *Annual Reports* presented to the Court of Governors at its October Meetings.

The advantages of the concentration of the manuscripts and records of a small nation under the roof of a national copyright library are obvious. The copyright privilege ensures a wealth of illustrative and reference material. Modern equipment necessary for the efficient functioning of both library and record office is expensive, and it becomes uneconomical to duplicate it. The National Library is the only library in the principality which can offer the advantages of a bindery staffed by experts in the repair of fragile documents and in fine binding, a photographic studio equipped with a photostat installation, photographic cameras, a Recordak Microfilming Unit, an enlarger, and ultra-violet ray cabinets, and a first-class printing shop in addition to the usual departments of a public library. The processes of repair developed at the National Library's bindery have attracted world-wide interest, and have been the means of giving a new lease of life to hundreds of Welsh documents which were in an advanced state of decay. This bindery has been at the service of custodians of Welsh local records for nearly forty years and the care bestowed upon the Library's own manuscripts has been extended to the records of towns and parishes throughout Wales.

The National Library has been a pioneer in the field of British Archive preservation. It has performed an immense service to Welsh scholarship by bringing together, and making available the written records of the past. Fifty years ago, the Welsh student had to find

his way from one country house to another in the often forlorn hope of obtaining access to material for original research. Today, the greater collections of Welsh manuscripts and records are conveniently placed at his service under ideal conditions in a modern state-maintained building specially designed for ensuring the well-being of the records and the proper accommodation of the research worker. The Library has encouraged and stimulated the foundation of county historical societies and the proper care of county muniments. In England, the modern tendency is to organise all local records on a county basis, but the Welsh counties which can maintain adequate record offices to house family muniments with their own official records are very few. Small county record offices are maintained by the County Councils of Glamorgan, Monmouth and Caernarvon. Of the thirteen Welsh counties only two have a rateable value exceeding £1,000,000, and five have a rateable value of less than £200,000. Many single English counties have a considerably higher rateable value than the combined total of the thirteen counties of Wales. The smaller Welsh counties are, therefore, glad to take advantage of the hospitality of the National Library for their historical records, and the proper policy for Wales to pursue in the preservation of its local records is to build upon the great achievement of the National Library, taking full advantage of the unique facilities which it offers.

There is ample room for development in the centralization of Welsh historical research around the Library and its accumulation of national treasures, and also in the utilization of the processes of microphotography to bring these treasures within easier reach of the students who cannot spend much time away from home. With the loyal co-operation of all sections of the Welsh people, and a pride in the common national achievement, the harvest gathered into the National Library of Wales can be converted into vital energy for the reviviscence of the nation.

EVAN D. JONES

THE ARCHIVIST AND THE ADMINISTRATOR

IS THE ARCHIVIST expected to assist the administrators whose records are in his custody and, if so, what is the nature and extent of the assistance he should render to them? These are questions with which every archivist is faced and an attempt is made to answer them here in the light of the experience gained in the Madras Record Office.

Now, it is possible to hold that it is by no means one of the duties of the archivist to render any active assistance to the administrators in carrying on efficiently the day to day administration of the country. It is possible to argue that the utmost that he can be expected to do to assist the administrators is to furnish them with whatever records they call for and to undertake occasionally some searches upon any intricate or difficult points that have a history behind them. But this narrow conception of his duty appears to be conducive neither to the better administration of the country nor to the better administration of the archives themselves. Of course, where the archive repository is situated in close proximity to the offices of the administrators, where the administrators look upon it only as a wing of their office and send their own men to consult the records, the archivist can do little more than pick up and furnish the records called for. In cases like this he is not expected to make an elaborate search in order to make sure that all information on a given subject is collected, or, after collecting such information, to submit a comprehensive note on the points under consideration. In fact, he may not be told at all, in such cases, what exactly are the points under consideration. But where the archive repository is located at a distance from the offices of the administrators and where it has been organised as a separate office, the administrators cannot send their own men to consult the records. And, even if they send them, they cannot get the information they require readily. In such cases the administrators have necessarily to depend upon the archivist and sometimes tell him what exactly is the matter under consideration. It is obvious that in such cases the archivist has to play an important part. It then becomes his duty to make a thorough search and to collect all the information wanted and, if he is competent, to study it carefully and, in the light of this study, to submit a more or less detailed note on the subject. If he fails to do this, he fails to make use of the most advantageous position which he occupies in the scheme of administration. He is the only man who knows all

about the different series of records in his custody. He is also the only man who has all the critical apparatus, the guides, the catalogues, the indexes, etc., by which complete information on any given subject, its origin, its development, its various aspects, can be traced. The administrators cannot be expected to know anything about these. It is only right and proper, therefore, that the archivist should do what has been suggested above for effectively assisting the administrators. Denial of such effective assistance may result in the administrators unknowingly passing erroneous orders based on incomplete or ill digested information supplied to them.

And here it is necessary to disabuse some of the assumptions which stand in the way not only of the archivist's assistance to the administrators, but also of the administrator's reliance on the archivist. It is sometimes assumed that non-current records, that is to say, records which are more than a certain number of years old¹ are of no use to the administrators, that they are useful only to the historian and the antiquary. It is likewise assumed that, as the bulk of the records in the archivist's custody are generally old records and not current records, he is competent to assist only the students engaged in historical research and not the administrators concerned with current administration. These assumptions are by no means true. There doubtless arise a good number of cases in current administration in which the information contained in the non-current or past records is often found to be of utmost value. Experience has shown, at any rate, in the Madras Record Office, that there is hardly an important policy or aspect of current administration the origin or the various phases of which are not to be traced in the non-current records. Moreover, it is not realised that very often a policy which appears new might have been really old, might have been tried in the past and actually given up for some reason or other. Again records mirror the experience and opinions of not one or two, but of a series of administrators of the past which cannot but be of some value to the administrators of the present. Indeed, in our enthusiasm, if we ignore the lessons of the past we may have to pay penalties in the future. Above all, it should not be forgotten that the records were and are retained and preserved by the administrators not so much for the use of historians as for their own use, for carrying

¹ Specific time limits perhaps cannot be fixed in practice to make records "non-current" although this is often done in theory. A better definition of "non-current" record would be "record no longer required in connection with the transaction for which it was originally created."—*Chief Editor*.

on an enlightened administration in the light of all that has gone before.

If the present administrators do not realise this, it is the duty of the archivist to make them realise it by showing at every opportunity what a mine of useful information of current value is contained in the past records. If he can, in this manner, in a number of cases, illumine the present with the aid of the past and thus assist the administrators to arrive at proper solutions for the numerous problems that confront them to-day, he would doubtless be rendering not a little service to the administration of his country. He would, at the same time, be rendering not a little service to the archives themselves by making use of them to the fullest extent, by impressing their importance on the administrators and thereby creating the favourable circumstances under which they can be administered well on the most up to date lines. The administrators are chary of spending money over archives merely because they are not aware of the great value of archives in administration. Once they come to know this value they are not likely to neglect the archives ; they are not likely to object to the centralisation, preservation, publication, etc., of archives, if all this can be continually, demonstrably, shown to them to contribute much to assist general administration.

Considerations like these gradually induced the Madras Record Office to think of the various ways by which it could render active assistance to the administrators. Formerly the Madras Record Office was rarely expected to undertake searches or to submit detailed notes illuminating points or policies under discussion. Whenever information on any particular subject was required the Secretariat used to send requisitions, usually in the shape of telephonic messages, calling for the records, the numbers, dates, etc., of which were referred to in the correspondence before it. Sometimes the Secretariat used to trace the papers from the indexes of the last few years which were generally in its possession. After obtaining these papers from the Record Office, the Secretariat Office was expected to study them and to put up notes on points requiring orders. This procedure was all right where minor or routine matters were concerned or where the information required was on specific matters of recent occurrence. But in important matters it was never satisfactory.

For one thing the most important matters affecting public rights or policies were generally found to have their roots in the past, in the formative epoch of British administration. That being so, no policy could be revised, no public right defended, without a careful

study of the past records. For example, the various aspects of subjects like the permanent land revenue settlement, the *ryotwari* settlement, the separation of the judiciary from the executive, etc., could be studied and understood properly only with the aid of the past records. And it required no argument to show that subjects like these could not be so studied and understood with the help of a few papers traced from the indexes of the most recent years.

Secondly, information on such subjects was not always found in one and the same series of records. During the last 150 years numerous changes had been introduced from time to time in the method of transacting government business and the details of these changes were unknown to the administrators of the present day. Unless, therefore, somebody pointed out to them all the sources of information available and collected and furnished all papers from these sources they were likely to pass, though unintentionally, erroneous orders, sometimes even on vital matters affecting public interests.

Thirdly, even if the Secretariat called for all the papers on a subject, as it sometimes did, in the absence of precise information about the points at issue, it was often found that most of the papers sent, though relating to the subject, were unhelpful in elucidating these points. It had then again to call for more papers at random on the off chance of finding in them the exact information required. All this meant not only uncertainty and waste of time and energy but also avoidable damage to the irrelevant records in transit between the Record Office and the Secretariat.

Now if the Record Office were entrusted with the work of tracing the exact information required, it could, with much less expenditure of time and labour, not only do so but could also send, when required, a more or less detailed note elucidating all the aspects of a question at issue. For it had certain unique advantages. Unlike the Secretariat it had a complete set of catalogues, indexes, press lists and other critical apparatus for all the records in its custody. It had also a large collection of special reports and books of reference which are of great use in conducting searches. What is more, it possessed an all round knowledge of the various activities of the several administrations gathered in the course of supplying records daily to the Secretariat, the Board of Revenue, the Collectors, etc. Above all, it possessed great facilities for consulting, without the least delay, all series of records, including the confidential records, from the earliest times down to the present, as they were all in its immediate

custody. With all these advantages there could be no doubt that it was in a much better position than the Secretariat to trace what was required, whether it be from the old records or from the new, and to present it when required in the shape of a clear and comprehensive note.

It could be said that most of these defects could be overcome by sending to the Record Office the correspondence under consideration and asking that office to put up all papers throwing light on the points raised in it so that the Secretariat could study them and put up notes for orders. Of course in that case the Record Office could trace all the papers. But the point was whether it would not involve unnecessary duplication of study and avoidable waste of time and energy. For, before the Record Office could furnish all the papers, it was necessary for it to study them carefully and to make certain that all the information required was sent. All this study would be wasted if it was not required to put up a note explaining the points at issue. Nor was this all. The Secretariat would have to study them afresh before it could put up a note. It had also to be admitted that upon difficult and intricate questions doubts might arise in the course of writing notes and that, while such doubts could be immediately set at rest in the Record Office by a reference to other papers, they could not be resolved in the Secretariat.

For all these reasons the Madras Record Office began, some years ago, to impress upon the Secretariat the desirability of entrusting to it, in the first instance, the work of dealing with important subjects of a general nature which might be under the consideration of the Government. Of course it was not suggested that all the files under consideration should be sent to the Record Office. For that would have required a large additional establishment. Nor was it really necessary that all of them should be sent. Only the files which required elucidation with reference to the records of a fairly large number of years were to be sent. It was, however, not easy to make the Secretariat see the need for doing this. It was necessary to enter into several personal discussions with the officials of the various departments before they could be made to realise the value of the records for administrative purposes. The Record Office had even to volunteer to write notes on some subjects which were known to be under the consideration of the Government with the help of the records in order to show their usefulness. And several such notes were actually written and supplied to the Government. One of these related to the manner in which a tobacco monopoly was worked by

the Madras Government in the first half of the nineteenth century. Another dealt with the system of collecting the land revenue in kind, a system which was in vogue in the pre-British days and in the early part of the British rule. The comparative decline of literacy in India under the British rule during the last century was the subject of a third note. A fourth note described the advantages of producing hand-made paper by convict labour inside the jails, to relieve the paper scarcity which was very acute during the last war. Four other notes dealt with the possibilities of mining copper, silver and lead, coal and lignite and uranium in the Madras Province. As was expected, these notes were found to be very useful by the Secretariat and slowly requests began to come in for more notes. Letters of appreciation were also received in several cases.

The Record Office was at first attending to this new item of work without any additional establishment. But it was soon found that without some additional establishment this extra work could not always be undertaken and performed properly. For the notes had to be prepared not only in as full a manner as possible but also as expeditiously as possible. Proposals were, therefore, put up for the employment of a special assistant. These proposals were accompanied by some of the notes mentioned above. The proposals met with the approval of the Government and in due course the supply of notes to the Secretariat was recognised as one of the activities of the Record Office and sanction was accorded for the employment of a special assistant for assisting the Curator in this work. Many more notes have since been written on various subjects such as the acquisition of permanently settled estates and their conversion into *ryotwari* tenure, riparian rights, separation of the judiciary from the executive, British relations with the Nawabs and Princes of Arcot, Agency areas and their problems, tenancy reforms, irrigation tanks and their problems, revival of art cottage industries, record of rights and many others. Some of these notes have also been printed in the shape of two volumes entitled *Studies in Madras Administration* and copies of them have been supplied to the important administrative offices in the province.

The questions that were raised at the beginning of this article may perhaps now be answered. The archivist is eminently fitted to render active assistance to the administrators, but it is left to him to render such assistance or not. If he defines his duties in a narrow sense and confines his activities to mere custody and preservation of records, he cannot do much. If, on the other hand, he adopts an

attitude of helpfulness towards the administrators and shows some willingness to assist them, even by going a little out of his way, where necessary, it will certainly contribute to better administration. His assistance will be appreciated and, what is more it will give him the satisfaction of seeing the collections under his charge serving their maximum usefulness.

B. S. BALIGA

ARCHIVE AND MINISTRY¹

THE EARLIEST surviving Public Record of England dates from the 11th century; the Public Record Office was not founded until the 19th. The present Constitution of the United States of America was ratified in 1788; the corner-stone of the National Archives in Washington was not laid until 1933. *De te fabula*; few readers of these remarks will not recognise that in their country also the Government produced Records for years, probably for centuries, before any central Record Office was instituted to take care of them. From this disparity in age, between Record Offices and the Ministries they serve, arise most of the troubles which beset their partnership.

Certainly it must be admitted that the need for a Record Office is seldom apparent at an early stage. When a Ministry is young, its files can be kept within the compass of a Registry. By degrees only do these files become inconveniently numerous, and some—not many at first—are removed to storage elsewhere; perhaps this storage is not very carefully chosen nor the move very carefully conducted, but there is sure to be some elderly clerk (his virtues recognised by praise rather than promotion) who knows where everything is should it be needed. This goes on for some years or generations until the Ministry has attached to itself a dozen or more of buildings or basements which were allocated for Record storage only because they were clearly unfit for anything else; the Registry staff is too small and too busy to look after the Records thus boarded out; and when the elderly clerk has died, there is no way of finding anything even when it is needed.

During this twilight period a good deal can happen. The usual enemies of Records (damp, fire, vermin, etc.) may work their usual harm; large quantities of Records may be destroyed wholesale by order of some autocratic chief or overzealous subordinate; and the Ministry may be much embarrassed by the disappearance of vital precedents or of the early history of some long-drawn-out business. But the Registrar, who may well be distressed by the muddle of which he is asked to take charge, cannot reach the ear of his seniors; while the seniors—educated people, perhaps even with degrees in history—

¹ These notes on the relation between a central Record Office and the Ministries whose Records it receives are written in general terms, to suggest that the principles and measures with which they deal may be generally applicable. They are, however, based upon four years' practical experience of the *Limbo* scheme operated by the Public Record Office of England, under which the 'dormant' Records of an increasing number of Departments (at present 17) are stored in a repository system administered by the Public Record Office, and are there 'weeded' and prepared for transfer, under Public Record Office guidance, by staffs from the Departments.

cannot see the connexion between civilized pursuits and the dirty old files in the cellar. Some intervention from outside is needed before it is too late, and fortunately forces are at work to provoke this.

In every civilized country Records are valued; they fall into neglect and confusion only when their use and nature are not understood. English history from the time of Edward II has been punctuated with royal decrees and commissions asserting the importance of the national Records, proclaiming not infrequently their sad condition, and making proposals for their better care. Sooner or later this irresistible force, compounded of scholarship, curiosity, and patriotism, will meet the otherwise immovable obstacle of departmental apathy and achieve at any rate a partial victory. A Record Office is built or provided, capable of housing the accumulated arrears, and a staff of custodians is appointed. From this action three main consequences result. One, which is an undoubted benefit, is that a large body of Records is made safe and accessible; and where (as in England when the Public Record Office was established) the Records thus rescued are centuries old and of great historical significance, this is no small matter. (It should be added that the Record Office staff may spend the next two or three generations in tidying up and making available for research the confusion of unsorted, unlisted, dilapidated, incomplete, or redundant documents with which they have been presented). The two further consequences are more questionable. First, the real problem has been left untouched; the arrears have been dealt with, but no provision has been made for keeping pace with Record production in the future. Further, since it is the older Records which have been transferred to the Record Office, the custodians there must probably cultivate a knowledge of palaeography, of diplomatic, and of the history of the times to which those Records relate—accomplishments generally so different from those required from Registrars that there is created an artificial and misleading distinction between the 'ancient' Records, believed to be a learned and mysterious affair, and last year's files, which clearly are not. Once this heresy is well established the archivist and the administrator walk in different worlds, nor can the administrator understand how the archivist's work can affect or assist his own.

If the Record Office were established at the same moment as the administration which it serves, this dichotomy of the Records could never occur. Mediaeval parchments and modern papers would be seen for what in fact they are—blood relations, ancestors and descendants of the same family, requiring for their treatment precisely the

same principles, only modified in the application. And even when the Record Office is established several centuries later, the right result may still be achieved provided that the problem be properly understood, and the Record Office regarded by the Ministry not simply as a nest of academic historians with a special interest in original sources, but rather as the Ministry's adviser on the disposal of its non-current files. A properly constituted Record Office must serve the administrator as well as the historian, by extending its interest beyond the Records in its permanent custody to those 'dormant' files which seem to the Registrar to be growing less and less important—while to the historian, the economist, and countless other students they are growing more and more so.

Once this principle is accepted—that the archivist staff of a central Record Office may legitimately concern themselves with a Ministry's 'dormant' files—the way is clear. There are five principal tasks to be achieved. First, *Co-operation*: since during their 'dormant' period Records are of concern both to their office of origin and to the Record Office, it is logical as well as important that during this period that two staffs should work together. Second, *Preservation*: the 'dormant' Records must be suitably housed, and protected from damage and decay. Third, *Elimination*: the Records of ephemeral importance must be weeded out and destroyed. Fourth, *Preparation*: the Records selected for preservation must be arranged, made up, listed, packed, labelled, and generally put into such shape that immediately upon transfer they will be ready for use. Finally, *Transfer* to the Record Office. And to enable these tasks to be undertaken, the following practical measures are suggested:

1. Every Record Office, when built, must not only be able to contain the existing volume of Records, *but also have space, and provision for additional space, for future accruals.*
2. *There must be statutory provision for the continual destruction of valueless documents, according to decisions duly agreed between the Record Office and Ministries.*
3. *There must be secondary or 'intermediate' accommodation for the storage of 'dormant' Records. This accommodation, and its equipment, must be of a standard comparable with that of the Record Office itself.*
4. *Staff must be detailed, both in the Ministries and in the Record Office for dealing with 'dormant' Records. These staffs can be small provided that they are of suitable grade and properly instructed. In a Ministry the essentials are (i) a*

named senior official, who will be finally responsible within the Ministry for all matters concerning its Records ; (ii) *an Archives or Records Section* parallel with the Registry, headed by a Records Officer of similar status to the Registrar ; this Section to work in the 'intermediate' repository on the tasks of Elimination and Preparation and also to produce Records to their own Ministry when required. The Record Office in turn must provide a staff permanently quartered in the 'intermediate' repository who will (a) administer this repository and all its services ; (b) guide and assist the Records Sections from the Ministries in their work of Elimination and Preparation ; (c) arrange the final Transfer to the Record Office.

Of these measures the first two are familiar ; the second two are less familiar but hardly less important. Taken together they require the expenditure of money and the provision for erection of buildings, and so may be expected to meet at least routine opposition from Ministries of Finance and of Public Works. Even if they are rejected or postponed, however, money will still be spent (though concealed in departmental estimates and votes) upon temporary expedients ; while as the bulk and disorder of the 'dormant' Records mounts so must the eventual cost of any proper provision for them—and meanwhile they remain in neglect and danger. If, however, these measures are adopted, they will supply the means first for disposing of accumulated arrears of Records and thereafter for maintaining a fruitful partnership between the Record Office and the Ministries which it serves. The 'dormant' period will become one not of 'neglect ending in oblivion', but of active co-operation between the Record Office staff and the Record Sections of Ministries. Valueless classes and documents will be wedded out at an early date instead of being hoarded in expensive confusion. Records for permanent preservation will arrive at the Record Office boxed, bound, labelled, and so ready for immediate production ; accompanied by means of reference, and so ready for immediate search ; and at regular intervals and in manageable and predictable quantities, so allowing a planned and orderly expansion of the Record Office. But unless these measures are taken, and the Records receive proper attention during their 'dormant' period, the old conditions of arrear, disorder, and loss will unquestionably recur.

ROGER H. ELLIS

THE HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION

THE ROYAL Commission on Historical Manuscripts has now been in existence over eighty years, having been appointed by a Royal Warrant dated 2 April 1869. The normal function of a Royal Commission is to make enquiries into a particular subject (such as Coal Mining, University Education, the Poor Law, the Press, or Local Government) and, having examined numerous witnesses and collected a mass of valuable information, to make its report which is published as a Blue Book together with appendices embodying the detailed information it has collected. One or two Interim Reports may be presented before the final one but most Commissions of this kind are wound up after a few years.

The Historical Manuscripts Commission began as a temporary Commission of this kind though probably it was realised from the first that its operations would be protracted. The Chairman was the Master of the Rolls and the members were representatives of the manuscript owning classes or of historians. The Secretary, who was unpaid, was a relative of the Master of the Rolls. Later a member of the Record Office Staff was appointed as a paid Assistant Secretary and for the last sixty years there has always been a Secretary found from the Staff of the Public Record Office with an allowance additional to his Record Office Salary. The headquarters of the Commission have always been in the Record Office although its meetings take place in the House of Lords.

The Commission's terms of reference covered the papers of private families and of institutions, and in point of fact it has at different times reported on the Manuscripts of cities, boroughs, counties, parishes, colleges, endowed charities, and numerous ecclesiastical organizations, mostly (but not all) of the Established Church. The modern conception of the Archives of an institution forming an organic whole was unthought of in 1869, but in fact the Commission's terms of reference, taken in the light of what it has actually reported on, do cover all local and private archives that fall outside the scope of the Public Record Office Acts, since most of the privately owned papers with which it has been primarily concerned have some organic unity as the natural accumulation of a family continuously engaged in public or local affairs or estate management though a few are merely the artificial gatherings of autograph collectors such as Morrison or Hodgkin (both of which, incidentally, have since been dispersed in the sale room). One very important accumulation

dealt with in the Commission's First Report and in many subsequent ones might be regarded as being in the nature of Public Records, though technically outside the scope of those Acts, namely the Manuscripts of the House of Lords.

The Commissioners as a body are mainly a panel of advisers meeting normally once a year and signing the periodical Reports presented to the Crown. Their public eminence or literary reputation, as the case may be, gives some guarantee to the owner of the MSS. that his papers will only be used for genuine historical research and that the Commission's publications will maintain a reasonably high standard of historical scholarship.

It is in these detailed reports made to the Commission by its Inspectors and Editors that the Commission's main work is embodied, and for this purpose the Commission's powers are in practice delegated to an Acting Commissioner. This position has always been held by the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records under whose direction the Inspectors or Editors are chosen by the Secretary. They are not Civil Servants but historians, men of letters, or record agents, who are employed *ad hoc* on the examination of individual collections and paid according to the time actually spent on this work. Their reports to the Commission (which usually take the form of a detailed calendar) are periodically summarized in the formal Reports made by the Commission to the Crown. The Inspectors' Reports were originally printed as appendices to those of the Commission but are now published separately. This has been a gradual process and the Commission's work may be taken as falling into five main stages: 1869-1884, 1885-1899: 1900-1914: 1915-1942: and from 1943 onwards.

The first stage of the Commission's work is represented by its first nine Reports, large foolscap Blue Books in which the Inspectors' Reports to the Commission are included as Appendices to the Commissioners' Reports to the Crown. The Commission began its work by a circular to a large number of individuals and institutions known or expected to own MSS. of historical importance. It must be realised that the Commission has never possessed or asked for anything in the nature of compulsory powers, but has relied, and has usually been fully justified in relying, on the willing cooperation of owners. The response to this original appeal was so generous that the Commission has never issued another, but has until recent times been fully occupied either with the MSS. which this appeal made

available to it, or by others on which inspection was invited when the nature of the Commission's work became more generally known.

Its early Reports to the Crown of which the first was published in 1870 contain a mass of material on a large and miscellaneous number of collections.

The information is often, from the magnitude of the task and the shortness of the available time, of a scrappy and unsatisfactory nature: the shortcomings of these early volumes in the accuracy and comprehensiveness, both of their texts and indexes, are admittedly regrettable and are enhanced by their deplorable format. Their double columns of small print are tiring to the eye and it is often impossible to determine where the description of particular bundles or volumes begins and ends. Nevertheless, the amount of work accomplished by these editors in a strictly limited time and often in conditions of great inconvenience and discomfort, long before electric light or motor transport was available, must command our admiration and it is to be hoped that the "Analytical Survey and Key to the Commission's Reports", now in preparation, may make this mine of information more generally accessible.

The first stage (1870-1884) represents the original idea of a temporary Commission (much protracted) making a general survey: in the next three stages (1885-1899, 1900-1914, 1915-1942) it had become a semi-permanent publishing body dealing in more detail with a smaller number of MS. accumulations.

The Commission itself has been renewed several times, the last occasion being in 1919.

Only one of the members then appointed still survives: new members have been appointed from time to time by fresh warrants to fill vacancies. Retired Masters of the Rolls, Deputy Keepers and Secretaries are usually appointed Commissioners and the total number of Commissioners is therefore a variable quantity.

The second stage (1885-1899) is characterised by the issue of the Reports in octavo and the separate publication of the appendices. The improved standards of editing and general presentation are largely attributable to Mr., afterwards Sir, Henry Maxwell-Lyte whose work as an Inspector in the years 1880-1885 was rewarded by his appointment as Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (and therefore as Acting Commissioner) in 1886. He was ably supported as Secretary by Mr. J. J. Cartwright who died in 1902.

Sir Henry's influence continued throughout the next periods since he was Acting Commissioner till his retirement from the Deputy

Keepership in 1926 and remained an honoured member of the Commission till his death in 1940 at the age of 92.

The third and fourth stages (1900-1914 and 1915-1942) saw the final separation of the Inspectors' Reports from those of the Commissioners and progressive raising of editorial and typographical standards though as a result of the two wars and financial stringency between the wars, the number of collections dealt with in the fourth period was comparatively small.

The issue of the Inspectors' Reports in octavo had been a great improvement, and as both the Commissioners' Reports and the Appendices were issued as Parliamentary papers they were sold at the remarkably cheap rates at which those published before 1923 are still obtainable: but the method of publication was increasingly confusing both to librarians and casual readers. Where one appendix covered one collection (e.g., *Le Fleming*, *Kenyon* or *Carlisle*) it did not much matter to what Report it was technically an appendix: but *10th Report Appendix IV* was not a very informative title for a volume covering some 30 private or institutional archive accumulations, and where reports on a single collection (e.g., *Portland*) were scattered through several appendices to different Reports, the result was bewildering.

The series of Reports on the Salisbury (Cecil) MSS., the most important accumulation of private archives in the country, had already been begun in 1884 (and is still continuing, the 19th volume being now in the press) as an independent calendar not classed as an appendix to any Report, and this system was also adopted for the *Catalogue of Welsh MSS.* (1898-1910) and for all Inspectors' Reports published in or after 1900.

The numerical classification of the Reports (e.g., 29, *Portland*, 30, *Fortescue (Dropmore)* etc.) was one of the improvements introduced by Mr. R. A. Roberts who succeeded Mr. Cartwright as Secretary in 1902, and was a Commissioner from 1912 till his death in 1943. The composite volumes of several short Reports were after 1900 described as *Various Collections* (Series 55 in the numerical classification) and eight such volumes were issued in the years 1901 to 1914. During the same period eight single volume reports were issued, thirty three volumes in continuing series already begun such as 9 (*Salisbury*), 24 (*Rutland*), 29 (*Portland*) and twenty four in new series of more than one volume as well as eight reprints.

The War of 1914-18 brought a complete cessation of publication and both Mr. A. E. Stamp (who succeeded Mr. Roberts as Secretary

in 1912 and was Acting Commissioner from 1926 till his death in 1938) and his successor Mr. S. C. Ratcliff, were hampered throughout the inter-war period by shortage of funds, so that the Commission still has unpublished arrears dating from before 1914, though some new series such as 75 (*Downshire*) and 77 (*De L'isle and Dudley*) have been undertaken more recently and run to several volumes. Despite this handicap, however, both Mr. Stamp and Mr. Ratcliff maintained and enhanced the Commission's standard of editing and production and were constant in the exercise of the general advisory functions of the Commission as to the care and maintenance of documents and putting students in touch with owners. Throughout this period they were constantly pressing for more resources and their successors Mr. (now Sir) Cyril Flower (Acting Commissioner, 1938-1947) and the present writer were beginning to reap the benefit of an increased allocation when War again brought a set back.

This time, however, the suspension of publication was less absolute. The nine volumes already in the press were allowed to be completed and the issue of seven of them by 1942 marks the end of another period of the Commission's history, since publication though authorized in 1946 is still very slow and the Commission is now primarily concerned with other activities.

The way in which the Commission's work has developed in its first half century confronted the Commission with two problems. One was the question of a country-wide survey of the vast mass of MS. material of which the Commission's Reports, numerous as they were, had only covered a fraction: the other was to make more generally accessible the varied and copious information scattered through its already published volumes. The much needed *Guide to the Commission's Reports* began in 1914 with the *Topographical* volume which is in effect a General Index of Places mentioned in the Reports published between 1870 and 1911. This is a most useful volume but it suffers from the defects of the earlier Reports of which the indexes provide very inadequate identifications of the Places mentioned. The much larger *Index of Persons* goes further to meet this difficulty as more effort was made to provide fresh identifications: but the work in consequence took much longer to produce and was only just completed in 1938. This also only covers the volumes published down to 1911, but considerable progress has since been made on a similar *Index of Persons* for reports published 1911-1947. The General *Index of Places* mentioned in these later reports will probably be included in an enlarged reissue of Part I the *Topographi-*

cal Guide, which is now out of print. The need of a general Subject Index will to a large extent be met by the *Analytical Survey and Key to the Reports*, mentioned above, which is now in preparation.

The need for a reversion to the Commission's original function of making a comprehensive survey of all Ms. material for national or local history was fully realised in the 1915-1943 period, and tentative steps were taken towards such a survey on several occasions, but (mainly owing to lack of sufficient funds) brought little effective result. The mere task of verifying the present ownership and location of collections already reported on had become difficult enough after the Commission had been seventy years in existence, but was in the main accomplished in the years 1941-1943 as will be seen from the Commission's *Twenty Second Report*. Numerous collections, however, remain wholly untraced and many more are merely known to have been dispersed by sale.

The Commission has realised that a really comprehensive survey would require the assistance of the large body of societies and individuals interested in the publication and preservation of records such as the numerous county record societies. Such co-operation was greatly facilitated by the formation (largely through the efforts of the present Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, Sir Hilary Jenkinson) of the *British Records Association* in 1933. Nearly all these local societies together with many public libraries and County Record Offices (since of recent years an increasing number of local authorities have seen the desirability of establishing archive repositories) are Institutional Members of this body while numerous persons either engaged or interested in archive work, are Individual Members.

It was from this body that the initiative eventually came in 1943 for the undertaking by the Commission of a National Register of Archives.

Authority was given for the starting of this work in 1945, and since then it has expanded considerably. Its main object is to collect information in the briefest possible form as to the location and ownership of all types of archives in the country, public and private other than those of the Central Government, without limit of date, and to make this information available with the consent of the owners to responsible inquirers, as well as to provide the basis for proposals for the safeguarding and control of archives in the future. Its method is to set up local committees of voluntary helpers usually on a county basis to collect such information and send it in to the headquarters of the Commission. The Registrar is primarily responsible for the

starting and supervision of this organization and the tabulation of the information is the work of the Assistant Registrar and a small staff of paid helpers.

In practice, however, it has proved impossible to limit this work to the minimum of information or to separate it from the Commission's other functions of detailed inspection and reporting, and advice to owners on the care of their archives or their disposal when (as is increasingly frequent) they are themselves unable to provide adequate accommodation. Such disposal usually takes the form of deposit on permanent loan in a County repository of which an increasing number are becoming available.

The details of this organization, the extent of the information it has already collected, and its hopes for the future cannot be adequately dealt with at present and must be reserved for a later article.

R. L. ATKINSON

THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF ENGLAND AND WALES AND THE STUDY OF LOCAL ARCHIVES

THE HISTORICAL Association of England and Wales is a society whose objects are "to collect and distribute information on all matters relating to the study and teaching of history, to encourage local centres for the discussion of such questions, to represent to education authorities and the general public the needs and interests of historical study and teaching, and to co-operate with other societies in the furtherance of kindred objects". It has nearly 8,000 members, and has local branches throughout England and Wales, together with affiliated Historical Associations in Scotland, Canada, Ceylon and South Africa. About half the membership consists of teachers of history, from the Universities to the primary schools; but archivists, librarians, lawyers, clergymen, doctors, civil servants and hundreds of others who have no professional interest in history are also keen and active members.

While the care and preservation of archives, public or private, are in no sense among the primary objects of the Association, its members, as historians, are necessarily interested in the proper maintenance of archives of every kind, and in the conditions of access to them, and the Association obviously cannot be indifferent to any question affecting the care and accessibility of historical records of whatever category. It very properly leaves to the British Records Association the leadership in all such matters, and is generally content to support, whenever required and by whatever means it can, the proposals of this and any other bodies which speak with special competence on archive problems. But in one part of the field the Historical Association has taken an initiative of its own. The keen and active interest in local history displayed by many of its branches and its members has led the Council of the Association to set up a permanent Local History committee to prepare hand-lists, bibliographies and guides to the study of each of the separate classes of local records—county, municipal, parish and ecclesiastical archives, as well as other categories of local material. Beginning with a general *Local History Handlist* in the form of a select "popular" bibliography and list of sources for the study of local history and antiquities, it has proceeded to a series of pamphlets, each of which will explain a separate category of local records—county records, parish records, municipal records and so on—describing the various types of records and documents con-

tained in each of these categories, showing how they came into existence and what purposes they served, and finally explaining, with illustrative examples, how they may be used in the writing of local history. The pamphlet on *County Records*, by F. G. Emmison, the Essex County Archivist and Irvine Gray, the Gloucester County Records Officer, has already been published (London: George Philip and Son, for the Historical Association, 1948, 32 pp. 1s. 6d.): it sets a standard and provides a model for the further guides to the other categories of local archives.

The pamphlet opens with a summary introduction on the origins of the records of the county justices of the peace in their quarterly sessions, and of other types of county records, on the successive arrangements for their custody, and on their relationship to other local archives. It then proceeds to its main purpose, a detailed classified account of the records of the courts of quarter sessions, divided into (1) judicial records (sessions rolls or files, minute books, process records, lists of prisoners, etc.), (2) order books formally recording the proceedings of the courts, (3) accounts of receipts and expenditure from county rates, etc., (4) administrative records (maintenance of buildings, bridges, highways, licensing of innkeepers and traders, police matters and lunacy inspection), (5) enrolled, registered and deposited records of charities, deeds, enclosure awards, friendly societies, jurors, parliamentary elections, taxation and many other matters, (6) commissions of the peace and lists of justices, and (7) memoranda compiled by the clerks of the peace. The pamphlet next lists summarily the other types of records resulting from the activities of other county officers—sheriffs, coroners, lords lieutenant—and indicates which classes of records may be useful for the study of local topography and genealogy. A further section illustrates various aspects of both local and national history, by way of example, by means of a score of extracts from different classes of county records. The appendices list (1) county records printed hitherto, whether by local record societies or by the county authorities, and (2) the facilities available in each county repository for scholars wishing to consult the county archives, including such details as the provision of reading accommodation, the need (if any) for a letter of introduction, office hours, possibilities of expert help from the staff, conditions under which documents may be photographed, the existence of printed or manuscript calendars, catalogues and hand-lists, and the range of the principal classes of records available.

As the provision for the proper maintenance of county archives

and for their accessibility to scholars varies enormously from county to county, the second appendix has immense practical value to those who wish to work on public records, and it is also hoped that the setting out, in one table, of the facilities provided by each county will stimulate the less progressive counties to bring their facilities up to the standards of their more active neighbours. In this way, especially as the series of pamphlets grows and finally covers all local archives, the Historical Association hopes to provide a modest but useful series of guides for the use of students working on local records, and to play its limited part in promoting the proper custody and maintenance of the local archives themselves.

R. F. TREHARNE

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF DAVID SCOTT, CHAIRMAN AND DIRECTOR OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

1787-1805¹

IT FALLS to the lot of a few men to live as exciting and dramatic a life as David Scott. As a young free merchant in mid-eighteenth century Bombay under the East India Company he acquired, lost and again acquired a fortune; as one of 'the real rulers' of the settlement, he was a power in making and unmaking its Governments. In the prime of life and back in London he became the personal friend of Henry Dundas and William Pitt, advising them on East India policy, moving at the heart of great affairs and dealing with the foremost political personalities, Sir John Shore, Hobart, Cornwallis, Wellesley, Wilberforce, Addington and Castle-reagh. As a director of the Company he sponsored and supported to the end, almost in splendid isolation, the forward policy of Wellesley in India. Most remarkable of all we finally see him, a free trader and a private trader, an opponent of restrictive trade duties and all monopoly, at the head of the greatest monopoly in the world, the East India Company itself. To make the Company the arbiter of India, to render its trade profitable, to crush the selfish interests batten- ing on it, he fought valiantly, and for his pains and temerity he was accused of treason, was tried and, by his own unaided efforts, acquitted. In the struggle he lost much of his fortune and all his health.

Scott's letters reveal that as a politician he had his faults: he lacked discernment, he was too easily misled by others, he let his enthusiasm run away with him. But the impression we get of the man is attractive. He was warm-hearted, plain-spoken and unosten- tacious yet spirited and above all a fine humanitarian. He was a

¹ The Royal Historical Society will publish in its Camden Series my two volume edition of *'The Correspondence of David Scott, Director and Chair- man of the East India Company.'* Relating to Indian Affairs the letters cover the years 1787 to 1805, that is, a period of critical importance in the expansion of British power in India. The bulk of the letters in this edition are taken from five volumes, numbered 728-731A, in the Home Miscellaneous Series in the India Office Records. The first four of these five volumes consist of David Scott's own letter books. I have also found and included a number of Scott's letters from the Wellesley and other papers at the British Museum, from the European Manuscripts Series in the India Office Library, from the Chatham papers at the Public Record Office, from the English Manuscripts Series at the John Rylands Library, Manchester, and from the Miscellaneous Letters and Documents Series at the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

The account of Scott's career which follows is based mainly on the letters. It reveals not only the significance of Scott's work but also the first-class importance of his letters as source material for the history of the period. I am indebted to the Royal Historical Society for permission to use this account here.

fighter knowing well the meaning of adversity yet not defeat. Through him we gain an inspiring vision of John Bull at war with Europe. As Napoleon masses his troops on the Channel coast, he writes, "The threatened invasion is still going on and all the power of that immense, barbarous nation seems exerted to render it effectual. A stop to the embarkation would be considered probably by the most intelligent spectators as the greatest misfortune that could happen to Europe".² Scott indeed was a grand patriot, ever working to make his country great—especially pointing and facilitating the way to the abolition of the Indian trade monopoly, the supremacy of Britain in the eastern seas and the free trade triumphs of the nineteenth century. He deserves a place beside the acknowledged makers of British India and Britain herself.

Scott's correspondence describes the Courts and committees of the India House and the personalities and pressure groups dominating their work; it draws out the dark intricacies and the tangled threads of intrigue and policy; it shows how the Directors and the Presidents of the India Board got on together, and how and for what purposes they used their valuable India patronage. It traces the rise of Wellesley's imperial policy both in London and in India, and reveals how and why the opposition grew within the Company. It provides in fact a new basis for reassessing Wellesley's achievements. Lastly, it throws light, not only on Britain's East India policies, but also on her wider maritime and commercial problems during the war against France.

David Scott was born in the early weeks of 1746 at the family home, Dunninald House, in the parish of Craig, Forfarshire. The circumstances attending his birth were dramatic. The Forty-five rebellion was afoot and a party of the rebels went out from Montrose to Dunninald House and there seized David's father, Robert Scott, "who was a faithful adherent of the House of Hanover" and threatened him "with instant death for his support of the Government". The story continues, "His wife, Ann Middleton of Seton, Aberdeenshire, usually called Lady Dunninald, entered the hall at the time they had her husband in their hands. Being a woman of fine appearance and manner and near her accouchement, her entreaties that they would spare his life prevailed; but he was carried off to the tolbooth of Montrose and there immured. On the

² David Scott to Lord Mornington, 24 April 1798.

advance of the Duke of Cumberland, however, he was at once set at liberty".³

David Scott, the tenth of thirteen children, was fortunate in his parents. His mother Ann, daughter of Brigadier General John Middleton of Seton, appears to have been a woman of beauty, strength and spirit, and his father, Robert, not only played an active part in public affairs, representing his county in Parliament from 1732-34, but also, as laird of Dunninald, took very good care of his patrimony.⁴ The family lived comfortably. David was brought up at Dunninald and later attended the school and university of St. Andrews, where he matriculated in 1759. Four years later, at the age of seventeen, he was sent off to India, not in the East India Company's service, but as a free merchant. As the fifth son of a large family, he was expected to make his own way, and this he did by acquiring a substantial fortune, though it took him, what was for those days, the rather long period of twenty-three years. His activities throughout were centred in Bombay and by the time he left for home in January 1786 he was an acknowledged leader there among the private merchants, and head of a respected agency house with an unrivalled knowledge of eastern trading conditions, especially in western India.⁵ Of the details of his stay in India we as yet know little. His family life was certainly happy. He had married a rich widow, Mrs. Louisa Jervis, and by her had one son, also called David, and three daughters.⁶ He appears to have played an important role in political affairs, indeed being described as one of "the real rulers" of Bombay.⁷ From time to time we hear of his financing the Bombay Government and on one occasion, during Warren Hastings' war with the Marathas, acting as intermediary between General Goddard at the head of the Company's forces and Nana Farnavis, the leading Maratha statesman.⁸

³ Anderson, *The Scottish Nation*, Vol. III, p. 411. David Scott was baptised on 27 February 1746. *Parochial Registers*, Craig parish, Co. Forfar. See also Warden, A. J. *Angus or Forfarshire*, Vol. III, p. 152 (1882).

⁴ Robert Scott (1705-1780) inherited the parish from his father Patrick (d. 16 Feb. 1731) who had purchased it about 1680 for £10,000. Robert enclosed the fields with stone walls and introduced a quicker rotation of crops. He was one of the first to use lime which was freely available as manure. He built roads and afforested the waste lands. *A Statistical Account of Scotland*, 1792, Volume 2, p. 497. See also the Rev. Rogers' *A view of agriculture in the county of Angus*, p. 24. (1794).

⁵ The name of the House was Scott, Tate and Adamson.

⁶ Louisa Jervis (sister of Mrs., later Lady Elizabeth Sibbald) was the second daughter of William Delagard and widow of Benjamin Jervis. She died 23 March 1803. Anderson, *The Scottish Nation*, Vol. 3. p. 411.

⁷ See Home Misc. Series, India Office, Vols. 614 and 728.

⁸ Furber, H.: *John Company at Work*, p. 221.

In London Scott took up where he had left off in Bombay, assuming charge of the metropolitan branch of his agency house, and soon becoming an accepted authority on eastern trade, whose advice was welcomed on the one side by the India House directors and proprietors, and on the other by the leading ministers of the day. Pitt in particular respected Scott's knowledge and standing, using him for example in 1790 in confidential trade discussions with the Dutch. With Henry Dundas, the recognised head of the India Board of Control, Scott was soon on very friendly terms. In both Indian and Forfarshire politics they held views much in common, and it was as a ministerial candidate that Scott was carried first into the East India Court of Directors in December 1788⁹ and then into Parliament as a member for Forfarshire in July 1790.¹⁰

From the time he arrived in London Scott was active and fertile in devising expedients to increase the Company's trade with India. It was on this 'platform' that he forced his way into the direction, and on this subject he was listened to with attention. The Company in fact faced a dilemma, and he knew it. The costs of its three Presidencies in India were rising far more rapidly than the market for the Company's India goods in Europe would stand. Continued applications as in the past for financial help to the State could only result in the dissolution of the Company; and it was the rising profits on the Company's China trade in tea which alone concealed the fact that the India trade monopoly was unprofitable, that it could not support the Company, and that the Company's costs of administration in India exceeded its revenues.¹¹ Through Scott's suggestions the Company's exports to India in 1790 were increased by over 2500 tons, and he it was who sponsored the proposal to allow the Company's ships commanders to fill up, freight free, the unoccupied tonnage in the Company's outward bound vessels. They were small

⁹ Scott had very boldly tried in April 1788 to break through the Directors' House List, 'a thing never before achieved'. He failed by only 70 votes, the narrowness of the margin illustrating his popularity with the Proprietors. *London Chronicle*, 10 April 1788.

¹⁰ Scott sat for the county throughout the Parliament of 1790-96. His agent at first was Sir David Carnegie. Sir David appears to have taken advantage of Scott and beat him at the general election of 1796, whereupon Scott, with Dundas's support, had himself returned for the Forfar burghs and continued to sit for them until his death in 1805. For details of Scott's interests in Forfarshire politics, see Home Misc. Series, India Office, Vol. 728-731; also Laing MSS. and Misc. Letters and Documents 1600-1843, in the National Library of Scotland. These include letters from Dundas and Lord Douglas and Alexander Duncan to Scott. See also the pamphlets, *A Narrative* by D. Scott, and *Illustration of the Narrative and Answer to the Narrative*, 1790, in the National Library of Scotland.

¹¹ Philips, C. H.: *The East India Company, 1784-1834*. Pp. 76, 303.

improvements in fact but the India House seemed pleased with the services of its new director.

So long as Scott contented himself with modest suggestions for profitable changes within the existing system of the Company he was sure of the approval, or at least benevolent neutrality, of the major groups among the directors and proprietors, but so valuable to the vested interests within the Company were the indirect profits arising from the monopoly of trade that any radical proposals were certain to rouse the strongest antagonism. But from the start Scott, who fully appreciated the Company's financial dilemma and who was fearlessly honest in facing facts, was set on 'root and branch' reforms; and indeed his initial, long, advisory letter to the directors on the future of the Company's trade, written when he was first standing for the direction, spoke, albeit vaguely, of the Company's "exports being given up to the nation in general".¹² It is probable that, as a Scotsman completing his higher education in a Scottish University in the early 1760's, he became aware of the free trade views which in 1776 found expression in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* and certainly as a merchant in western India he must later have had further opportunities of discussing them, but the most powerful influence in turning him into a confirmed 'free trader' appears to have been his first-hand experience of the wastefulness and restriction inherent in the Company's monopoly.¹³ In fact Scott loathed monopoly whether it was the salt monopoly in India or the salt monopoly in Scotland, or the monopoly of the India trade itself.¹⁴ But he was politician enough to realise that any attempt in the face of the strong East India interests concerned to put such a policy into immediate effect was futile.

In this period the most powerful parties within the Courts of Directors and Proprietors were the City and Shipping interests and they usually acted in conjunction. A third group, "the Indians", representative of those who had served in India, was quite numerous—indeed on occasion filling up to half of the 24 seats in the direction—but too lacking in organisation to compete with the others. By

¹² Home Misc. Series, India Office, Vol. 404, 3 April 1787.

¹³ In the spring of 1949 when visiting the National Archives of India at New Delhi I was interested to find evidence of a committee of Bengal servants of the Company quoting Adam Smith in support of their views on the use of bullion. This was in 1787. This document is referred to on p. 75, *Indian Historical Records Commission: A Retrospect*, 1948.

¹⁴ Cf. Scott on the Company's salt monopoly in his letter to William Fairlie, 8 January 1796. Scott built a saltworks at Dunninald to produce 3,000 tons yearly in order to help break the salt monopoly in South Scotland. Warden, A. J. *Angus or Forfarshire*, Volume III, p. 161.

contrast the Shipping interest in particular was well entrenched, enjoying great influence through its size and cohesion.

By long custom it was the Company's practice not to buy its ships but to hire them, and in view of the length and danger of the voyage to the East, they had to be especially designed and built. Each ship in its lifetime normally made four voyages and it was then customary to allow the owners to replace it.¹⁵ In effect therefore they owned not a ship but an "hereditary bottom". Normally some seventy ships representing a capital of over £2 millions were in service. Very few owners were so rash as individually to run the risk of owning a whole ship, and they therefore came together in groups to share the risks. But the total number of wealthier capitalists controlling most of the ships was small and their organisation strong. Moreover, in practice, along with their ships' husbands and ships' captains, they elected a representative Committee of Managing Owners through which they usually treated with the Company. "The Old Shipping interest", it was said, "held Courts and committees of their own, had a chairman, secretary, and standing counsel and employed Proprietors to write on their behalf in newspapers and pamphlets".¹⁶

In the Court of Proprietors the Shipping interest as a whole could muster in 1790, for example, 350 votes made up of the officers, shipwrights, provisioners and others connected with the Company's shipping. They were centred in and around London and therefore easily mobilised. Randle Jackson, a London barrister and a shrewd observer, said in debate in the Proprietors Court in May 1795, "There was always a body of shipowners and their dependents, completely organised, ready to come to Court, on receiving what was called not a Treasury but a Shipping letter; whose general instruction it was, not to stir from their seats until the independent proprietors were fatigued and had retired, to vote implicitly with their leaders and above all to take care that no fair and genuine question, which might lead to a reduction in their prices, should ever reach a ballot. A sumptuous repast at the London Tavern was always ready prepared to recruit their spirits when the debate was over."

There were usually four or five shipping members in the Court of Directors, for although shipowners were excluded under a Company's bye law of 1710 the ships' husbands and captains were

¹⁵ The period was increased in 1790 to six voyages.

¹⁶ John Cochrane's *Memorandum on India Trade and Shipping* Home Misc. Series, India Office, Vol. 406, f. 49.

not thus debarred,¹⁷ neither were those persons who employed their capital in docking, fitting and equipping the Company's vessels. It was to be expected, therefore, that these groups of London financiers and their connections—that is, the City interest—who were concerned indirectly in these matters should often see eye to eye with the Shipping interest. In particular both groups were bound to defend the Company's monopoly of Trade because thereby they defended also their own London enterprises not the least of which was their lucrative control of the Company's shipping.

The Shipping interest undoubtedly gave considerable service to the Company: it provided continuity of policy and of shipbuilding technique, it invested large sums in its fleet of Indiamen which, moreover, could not profitably be used in any other trade. But monopoly inevitably led to abuse. The shipowners consistently and grossly overcharged the Company in freightage rates and the ships' captains, who were under the obligation of purchasing their commands, paid far more attention to their own private privilege trade than to the Company's, and in enhancing their own profits they too connived at unduly high freight rates.

Such profitable malpractices did not go unchallenged. Other shipowner capitalists—Anthony Brough, Chapman, James Fiott, Hurrys, Thornton to mention a few—wished to break into the lucrative circle, and some genuine reformers among the Company's proprietors, especially the barrister, Randle Jackson, and Thomas Henchman, a former Company's servant, sought to establish a shipbuilding system of fair and open competition. David Scott, too, in his new-found and sincere zeal to develop the Company's Indian trade and with the interests of his own agency house in mind, argued the merits of an open, competitive shipping system, and it was under his leadership that these somewhat diverse groups came together and in the Proprietors' Court began to fight shoulder to shoulder against the shipping monopoly. They soon gained the name of the "New" Shipping as against the entrenched "Old" Shippers. Every time proposals for the freighting of ships were brought forward sporadic warfare between them broke out, and in 1793, the year when the Company's charter was due for renewal, a general battle was joined.

The City and Shipping interests fought to retain the trade monopoly unchanged, the "New" Shippers, in alliance with private traders, demanded some relaxation, if not the abolition, of the

¹⁷ In 1795 the shipping directors were Joseph Cotton, William Elphinstone, Stephen Lushington, William Money and Stephen Williams.

monopoly. The contending parties looked for a decision to Henry Dundas, who spoke and acted for the Government in Indian affairs, but in the upshot he was far more concerned with the imminence of war with France and therefore the need to avoid drastic experiment rather than with the merits of the question. On his advice Parliament finally renewed the Charter and enjoined a shipping compromise—the Company was to retain its trade monopoly provided it granted the use to private traders of 3,000 tons annually on the Company's ships outward and homeward. Scott personally accepted this with some reluctance because he had at the last, and with difficulty, produced evidence that foreign private traders were carrying on a large 'illicit' or 'clandestine' trade with Bengal, estimated at 10,000 tons a year and based largely on the remission to Europe of the fortunes of the English Company's servants.¹⁸

With the Charter safely renewed the Shipping members came into the open, first by forcing on the Court of Directors a higher rate of freight for new shipping which brought them an immediate profit of £80,000, and then by a personal onslaught on Scott, which took the form of a motion in the Proprietors' Court that "No director shall be allowed to trade to or from India directly or indirectly, either as principal or agent". Intrinsically this proposal was wise in that it sought to prevent directors from using their inside information to promote their own eastern trade, and there was no doubt that Scott (who had long played this sort of game successfully in Bombay) was already running his agency house in close step with the Company's policy.¹⁹

The Proprietors' Court carried the motion but Scott, whose fighting spirit was roused, disappointed his attackers by choosing to remain a director. He therefore publicly resigned control of his agency, and unwisely, as it later turned out, at once vested it in his very young son, also by name David Scott, and appointed a close friend, William Lennox and his own brother-in-law, James Sibbald, as managers on his son's behalf.²⁰ In this and in his subsequent dealings he kept good faith with the Company's ruling but few of his

¹⁸ For a full discussion of the Charter renewal discussions see Philips, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-79.

¹⁹ The House of D. Scott & Co., had materially reduced the value of the private trade of the ships' captains by taking up 800 tons of the 3,000 allowed to private traders. Scott to William Fairlie, 30 March 1795.

²⁰ David Scott junior was born on 25 July 1782, and was only eleven at this time. James Sibbald had served in the Company's Bombay service, and had also acted as an agent. He married Elizabeth, sister and co-heiress with Mrs. Scott. Sibbald was created a baronet of the United Kingdom and died issueless on December 17, 1819. The title passed to David Scott (Junior). Anderson, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 411.

enemies were willing to believe that an agency organised in this way and under the name of D. Scott *Junior* & Co. was not in fact managed by the father.

However, Scott's spirited conduct and the generally scandalous behaviour of the Shipping interest had brought many new friends to the side of the 'New Shippers', including Charles Grant, a recently elected and promising director. Moreover, Henry Dundas, both shocked and alarmed by the excesses of the 'Old Shipping' threw all the weight of his influence behind Scott. Dundas frankly liked him. They were on intimate terms and on Indian problems saw eye to eye. It came as no surprise when in April 1795, cushioned on Dundas's influence and despite his junior standing in the Company, Scott was carried into the deputy chair of the Court of Directors, and it was from this new position of advantage that he again proposed a revision of the shipping system to the directors and proprietors. The Shipping interest fought tooth and nail, manœuvring to postpone a decision until after the following April when six of Scott's supporters were due to retire from the direction, and only the widespread issue of 'Treasury notes' by Dundas to rally the ministerial supporters finally carried the day in Scott's favour. Under the new system the sale of commands was prohibited, all ships' captains who had bought commands were recompensed, and the system of hereditary bottoms was abolished and replaced by open competition.²¹

It was a remarkable victory for in effect Scott was persuading the Company to reform itself from within, but it also carried within it the seeds of future strife. In the following years many thousands of pounds were indeed saved in freightage rates;²² yet in practice Scott found that under the revised system the closed circle of ship-owners was merely enlarged not destroyed, the Old Shipping interest repulsed, not broken. And Scott was too warm-hearted, too little discerning and calculating to realise that its inveterate, single-minded leaders—Joseph Cotton and William Elphinstone, inflamed as they were by defeat, would at once cast round for fresh means to overthrow the new system and perhaps crush Scott as well.

During the two years from April 1795, when Scott successively acted as deputy and then chairman of the Company, his relations with Dundas grew very close. Scott was exceptionally well-informed

²¹ Payments to the ships' captains began in 1796 and ended in 1804. In all £355,910 was paid. *Select Committee Report*, IV (1812), p. 440.

²² By 1810, taking into account the fifty per cent rise in the cost of building ships, the Company was paying on the average £18.9.8 a ton less for freight than in 1796. *Ibid.*

on Indian affairs, his agency house through his impulsion maintaining regularly an overland express to and from India, a measure only occasionally resorted to by Government.²³ Dundas relied on this information—usually the most up-to-date available in London—and on Scott's judgment. Many a week-end Scott was invited to Dundas's home in Wimbledon to meet Pitt and confer on India business, and as Dundas became immersed in the conduct of the war with France, so Scott found himself increasingly responsible for the conduct of East India affairs in London. There is no doubt that he gloried in his task; and, equally obvious, that he worked himself to a standstill; twelve hours a day regularly spent at the India House, followed nightly by a couple of hours in the Commons, ruined his digestion and upset his nerves. Fatigue and illness sapped his good judgment. Moreover, the 'Old Shipping' would not let him alone: they sniped at all his measures and at the close of his chairmanship, their chief spokesman in the Proprietors' Court, William Lushington, even called for a grand inquest on Scott's work. When the Proprietors approved Scott's labours, Lushington returned to the old charge that Scott had illegally retained an active interest in the House of D. Scott Junior & Co., and not until March 1798, after a most wearying contest did Scott get the Proprietors to exonerate him by 850 votes to 365.²⁴

Both Dundas and Scott were anxious lest in these forays the 'Old Shipping' interest should overturn the revised shipping system. Dundas was of the opinion that 'the shipping question could only with certainty be settled in Parliament. . . . it must end there sometime', but for the moment other business absorbed him. Aware of Dundas's preoccupation, the 'Old Shippers', Cotton, Elphinstone and Williams shrewdly decided against frontal attack. There was to be no action which might attract attention. Instead they worked privately to gain the ear of the new chairman, Jacob Bosanquet—a rich London merchant "who possessed a great line of City interest and connection"—and with his help quietly moved for an extension beyond six voyages of the life of their ships and for substantial increases in their size and number. Although far from well, Scott accepted the challenge but the course of events was turning against him. Many of his former allies among the 'New' shipowners now formed part of the shipping monopoly itself, and even Charles Grant,

²³ Note, for example, Dundas's appeal for up-to-date information on the Danes in India on 23 January 1801 and Scott's full and prompt reply on the following day.

²⁴ General Court Minutes, Vol. 9, f. 98, 22 March 1798.

a more independent collaborator, shirked the renewal of the contest on such unequal terms, and on what, he alleged, were side issues. Scott attempted to bring fresh forces to his own side by extolling the merits of smaller, cheaper ships to be built presumably by an altogether different group of shipowners. Why not, he urged, admit small 500 ton ships and even India-built shipping freely to the Company's service? It was indeed a false step.

With this proposal a storm broke that had been brewing for some time. All the directors knew that foreign private traders were continuing to carry from India a large "illicit" trade; they knew too that the British agency houses were participating—in the year 1799, it was said, these houses had £200,000 invested in American ships sailing from India—and that much of the capital concerned belonged to the Company's own officers. The situation completely exasperated them because they could see no way short of the abolition of their monopolies to remedy it. Not unreasonably British private traders, too, were disgruntled, the more so because the 1793 grant of 3,000 tons outward and homeward on the Company's ships had been rendered unprofitable by the Company's high freight rates and the irregular, uncertain sailings of its ships. With these facts in mind Scott had persuaded the directors early in 1798 to allow a small experiment in using India-built ships from Calcutta, but the 'Old Shippers' found it much too successful for their liking. These India-built vessels sailed at a low rate of freight, out of season and they loaded and unloaded much more speedily than the Company's ships. Previously, Scott had been able to persuade a majority of the directors and proprietors to join with him in supporting obvious shipping malpractices, but he found he could not at this juncture carry them to the point of revolutionising the Company's commercial policy. Proposals to use India-built shipping and to build a new fleet of small Indiamen had roused all sorts of vague fears, even that of the European colonisation of India, and although Scott's experiment with India-built ships was conclusive and in his favour, the shipping directors had no difficulty in getting their colleagues in the direction to vote down a repetition of it.

To Scott the shipping controversy formed only part of much more important problems of policy; in particular, the merits of private trade as against monopoly, of free trade against restriction. As his letters show, the touchstone for him was Britain's prosperity and political strength. To his friend William Fairlie, he wrote, "If the plans for establishing low freights, admitting country ships to

bring home the private trade, and a reduction of duties to give Britain what her acquisition of Empire in the East appears to be now her inherent right, or in other words to bring into the Thames almost the whole of the Eastern commerce, I say, if these were effected, I would from choice take leave of the direction immediately." He told Sir John Shore, "I have laboured ever since I was in the direction to transfer what is styled the clandestine trade into the Thames". To Jonathan Duncan he said, "If the Company cannot carry on a trade without a monopoly they should leave it" and to Cornwallis, "It appears to me as evident as any proposition in Euclid, that there is nothing left for Britain which can give any reasonable prospect of her continuing her superiority to France in seamen, except the trade between Asia and Europe being carried on in her shipping".²⁵

Thus whilst on the one level fighting the shipping monopoly in the India House, on another level in Parliament, where he was sitting for the Forfar burghs,²⁶ he developed a wider campaign. He put up to Pitt and with his sanction carried through the Commons a Warehousing Act "to encourage the importation of all articles the produce of the East Indies into this country which the high duties upon the articles exported from it had diverted into other channels". He was against monopoly, he wanted as few restrictive duties on East India trade as possible, and if this policy were to be applied by Pitt to all other branches of Britain's trade he thought it would make her "the port of the world".

Scott's open protestation of faith in the private traders and his positive free trade policy cost him the sympathy of the great majority of his colleagues. The more conservative and independent of them, among whom may be placed Charles Grant, seem sincerely to have thought that the opening of the India trade to British private traders would be not only unprofitable but also inexpedient in that it would lead directly to the large scale settlement in India of European speculators.²⁷ The Shipping interest harped on its usual theme that

²⁵ These letters respectively are: David Scott to William Fairlie, 8 March 1797; David Scott to Sir John Shore, 11 June 1797; David Scott to Jonathan Duncan, 31 July 1797; David Scott to Marquis Cornwallis, 31 October 1801.

²⁶ As his letters show Scott looked well after the Forfar burghs and the county. He got repealed an act levying duties on coals carried coastwise which had been a heavy burden on the county folk. He also financed the building of roads. *Statistical Account of Scotland*, 1792, Vol. 2, p. 504.

²⁷ Two reports of a *Select Committee of the Directors on Private Trade*. Home Misc. Series, India Office, Vol. 402. See also *Reports on India-built ships*, 1809, India Office.

the solution to the Company's commercial difficulties was to employ more ships. But Scott and two, in particular, of his supporters, Thomas Henchman and Sir George Dallas, were indefatigable pamphleteers, and they had by far the best of the paper war. That at least seemed to be the view of Pitt and Dundas, whose sympathies lay with Scott. This did not daunt Joseph Cotton and William Elphinstone, the two chief shipping directors. If they could not prevail in straight argument then they would find and use other methods. Scott, they regarded as the linchpin of the opposition. If they could knock him out, then the opposition would fall apart. Unfortunately for Scott the means lay ready to their hand in the oft repeated accusation that he was still responsible for his son's agency house.²⁸

On February 8, 1799 London Town and Scott himself were astonished to hear that he had been accused of supplying the enemy with warlike stores, of trading illicitly under neutral Danish colours, and even of revealing the confidential war plans of the Secret Committee to the French and that his accuser was no less a person than Jacob Bosanquet, the Chairman of the Company. The evidence, which was full and well documented, consisted of papers which had been seized at St. Helena and sent home to the chairman, and the latter, spurred by Cotton and Elphinstone, declared that he would try Scott before the full Courts of Directors and Proprietors.²⁹

Scott became incandescent with fury and energy. "The charges are indeed of a most serious nature", he said, "striking at my life, my character and in short everything that can be valuable to man." Mercilessly he sifted the evidence, finding inconsistencies, exaggerations and plain lies; he swore affidavits, he consulted nine learned counsel. One by one he took up the charges and one by one refuted them. In the final, crucial debate before the Proprietors he was unanimously acquitted and his son's agency house exonerated by a large majority,³⁰ and even Dundas went down to the India House to cast his vote in their favour. As a parting shot, to show that he was in no doubt as to the identity of the fabricators of the plot or their underlying motives, Scott got Dundas to help him push through Parliament an Act once for all to establish against attack the shipping

²⁸ Rumours had been circulated in 1797 that Scott owned ships concerned in the clandestine trade. David Scott to Henry Dundas, 10 June 1797.

²⁹ For a full discussion of this incident see Philips *op. cit.*, pp. 97-100.

³⁰ It is certain that the Agency House had dealings with foreign agency houses and was concerned with the illicit trade—as were all the East India agency houses. Scott admitted to Dundas that the House had given Duntzfeld & Co., an agency house at Copenhagen more help than was prudent, 10 June 1797.

system of fair and open competition which he had first persuaded the Company to adopt in 1796.

In all this Scott spent his money, his India patronage and his strength without stint, and he duly suffered. He had to realise his assets in India and England; he drew on his friends' reserves of patronage and mortgaged his own for years ahead. But he had no reserves of health to call on. Ever since his arduous year in the 'chair' he had been unwell, and these last efforts altogether pulled him down. With 'a tearing pain in the chest' he was forced into semi-retirement, leaving Cotton, Elphinstone and their colleagues to enjoy what they no doubt thought was the last laugh.

It is important to follow the course of Indian politics in London—meandering and muddy though it is; otherwise the activities of the Company's governments in India do not appear in a true perspective. This applies with particular force to the governor generalship between 1798 and 1805 of Marquis Wellesley (to use the name by which Mornington is best known), for these were the years in which the directors, through the City and Shipping interests, rose to the height of their power. Unless we have first studied their policies we cannot understand either the virulence of their opposition to him or the way in which they persistently checked and often blocked his plans or the reasons why they recalled him. On the other side, Wellesley himself regarded the war against the French as a world-wide struggle, waged alike in Europe and in the East. What happened in Europe, what happened in London, whether in Westminster or Leadenhall, powerfully influenced the course of his policy in India.

Between 1795 and 1797 as a young and promising Assistant Commissioner of the India Board, Wellesley had worked side by side with his President, Dundas, and with Scott, the leading member of the Directors' Secret Political Committee. On foreign policy in India they knew each others' minds. Dundas and Scott believed in a forward policy, and in full knowledge of this Wellesley went to Calcutta. The flow of secret orders from home continued to encourage him: Tipu Sultan to be attacked, the Carnatic and Mysore to be annexed, subsidiary treaties to be made with the Nizam and the Marathas; outside India, Java to be captured and Batavia to be taken; the underlying motive throughout, they said, was "so to preserve the peace and to be the arbiters of India".³¹ All this Scott

³¹ Philips, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-4.

and Dundas committed themselves to and Wellesley endorsed ; and in one of his early replies he neatly catches their mood and illustrates their unanimity of opinion and policy,—“If you will have a little patience the death of the Nizam will probably enable me to gratify your *voracious appetite for lands and fortresses*. Seringapatam ought, I think, to stay your stomach awhile ; not to mention Tanjore and the Poligar countries. Perhaps I may be able to give you a supper of Oudh and the Carnatic, if you should still be hungry”.³²

As Wellesley turned from conquest to conquest, and the size of his armies grew, and with them the cost, Dundas began to think it was time to call a halt, but not so Scott. If the British were to be the arbiters of India then, Scott argued, they must be prepared to face the expense. As his letters show, in foreign policy he marched the whole way with Wellesley, even on Maratha policy :—

“From Your Lordship’s splendid success (over Tipu) we have (the Marathas) now only to look at as native powers. Of course Poona becomes a Seringapatam and Bombay the fittest of all stations, indeed the only one to keep them in continual check”. And later, in November 1800, he wrote, “If you succeed in your subsidising view with the Peshwa it will complete the security of India beyond what we have reasonably looked for”.³³

The very fact that Scott was for Wellesley would have disposed the Shipping interest to oppose. But further, it was known that Wellesley held similar commercial views to Scott : he encouraged the private traders, he inveighed against ‘the narrow views of commercial habits’, he even took up India-built ships to carry home the Company’s goods. The ‘Old Shipping’ was therefore bound to be dead against Wellesley. Either he or they would go to the wall.

For the directors as a whole Wellesley’s governor generalship posed a critical question. How far could the Company in India continue to expand without going bankrupt? Already, as they knew, its cost of administration exceeded its revenues, and the India trade monopoly ran at a loss. To them it seemed that the Company’s equilibrium, financial and political, was already overset, and that the only satisfactory course was to call an end to conquest and to turn to building up the India trade. With this in view they worked out a scheme to send regular supplies of bullion to India in order to step up the Company’s purchases of Indian goods for ultimate sale at home ; and Dundas for his part, fully aware that the decision was

³² Add. MSS. 37,275 f. 8. 25 January 1800.

³³ Letters dated 15 July 1800 and 7 November 1800 respectively.

critical, specifically warned Wellesley that "it must be held as a sacred principle that none of the money or resources sent out for commerce are to be diverted from that purpose".³⁴ The directors duly fulfilled their part of the plan, each year borrowing heavily in London to send Wellesley the money, but he, perhaps too deeply committed in India to change his course, used it to further his own imperial and warlike plans. Thus the main if unintentional result of the directors' efforts was to put the Company further in debt at home whilst enabling Wellesley to carry out a foreign policy to which they were opposed. Such a path, as they saw it, must lead ultimately to the abolition of the Company and their own monopolies. That this man should also fall into line with Scott and actually propose the entry of India-built ships and of British private traders into the India trade must have seemed to the City and Shipping interests the last, calculated insult, and their bitterness towards him may well be imagined.

Meanwhile Dundas had become so immersed in the management of the war against France that he had lost touch with the India House. In an effort to restore his position, he used his remaining influence in April 1800 to push Scott once more into the deputy chair, but this step in itself was a confession of weakness and confusion. Scott, it was true, had partially recovered his health, and characteristically was always ready for the fray. He understood, too, the facts of the situation and, in view of the failure of the Company's financial policy and the exacerbated feelings of the directors, he was firm and right in advising Wellesley to retrench "for the preservation of India", and he himself was rich in expedients to this end. (Letter 398). But the move into the chair was unwise for Scott was plainly out of sympathy with his colleagues, at cross purposes with all of them either on foreign or commercial policy or both. They, in opposition to him and Wellesley, were unanimous as never before, and when Pitt's Ministry left office and Dundas quitted the India Board they took the drastic step of compelling Scott to resign on the private trade question.³⁵

Scott was desolated. He told Pitt, "Mr. Dundas's absence, Marquis Cornwallis's, your taking no part, Mr. Addington's not looking into the subject with his own eyes and above all such a degradation (if true) of the India Commissioners really makes me

³⁴ Add. MSS. 37,274 f. 229. 23 July 1799.

³⁵ Scott resigned the direction altogether in April 1802. Add MSS. 37,278 f. 89, 11 May 1802. J. Bosanquet to Wellesley.

feel myself insulated. I fought to the last, and as I know I was right on this question, I thought I had been fighting under secure banner, but I feel sore". Yet Scott never felt himself beaten! He was at once busy gaining the ear of Dundas's successor, Dartmouth, but as soon as the directors realised what was going on and that Scott was succeeding, they harried the rather inexperienced and bewildered President out of office. Sensing complete victory they swept along in full cry. Every move by Wellesley was mercilessly criticized: they tore to shreds his plans to set up a college in which to train the Company's servants, they flatly rejected his private trade proposals, they mounted a sustained offensive against the whole range of his policy and finally so worked on Castlereagh who had followed Dartmouth at the India Board, that he abandoned Wellesley and, along with Pitt and Dundas, in December 1804, acquiesced in his recall.³⁶

Scott alone of the major actors in the drama stood by Wellesley to the end.³⁷ But by this time he was an exhausted husk of a man; still spirited but physically worn out in the struggle. His beloved wife, "who had most endeared life and soothed its suffering", had died in March 1803, and he himself, in his son's words, "sank depressed to the same grave" on 4 October 1805.³⁸

C. H. PHILIPS

³⁶ For a detailed treatment of these events see Philips *op. cit.* Chapter V.

Scott's letter to Pitt quoted above is dated 19 November 1801.

³⁷ See David Scott to Marquis Wellesley, 11 May 1804 and 14 May 1804.

³⁸ "His remains were interred in the family vault in Mary-la-Bonne burying ground, attended by his relations and most intimate connections and friends; and conducted with great solemnity, but in the plain, unostentatious manner so consistent with the uniform tenor of his life."

Gentleman's Magazine 1805, Vol. 75, p. 978. See also Rogers, C. *Scottish Monuments and Tombstones*, Vol. II, p. 208 (1872). In his will Scott typically "directed that his body should be opened after death, that the seat and cause of his complaint should be ascertained for the benefit of mankind; which was accordingly done by a very eminent surgeon and anatomist, Mr. Frye of Gloucester, when his disease was found to have been a schirrus in the pylorus—*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1805, Vol. 75, p. 978.

THE LETTERS OF BENJAMIN JOY FIRST AMERICAN CONSUL IN INDIA

THE LETTERS printed below are all which survive in the United States Archives of those written by Benjamin Joy of Newburyport, Massachusetts, who was commissioned by President Washington as the first American Consul to serve in India. Between them and the beginning of the regular series of consular reports from India in the National Archives at Washington, there is a gap of half a century. On July 12, 1843, James B. Higginson wrote the Secretary of State from Calcutta, on receiving his commission, "There has never been an American Consul here before". Since Joy was not officially recognised by the Bengal Government, this is, in a measure, true, and it is very extraordinary that the United States lacked consular representation in India during a period when American trade with India was by no means negligible.¹ It will be noted that Joy, despite his brief residence in Calcutta, was able to be of considerable assistance to American sea-captains who called at that port.

Newbury Port 9th Dec^r 1792²

Sir,

I this day had the honor of receiving from the Secretary of State the United States Commission as Consul at Calcutta and other ports and places on the Coasts of India in Asia.

I feel a most lively sense of gratitude for the confidence you have been pleased to repose in me, and for the honor you have done me by appointing me to that office, and beg leave to assure you that I shall at all times exert myself to do the duties of my office in such a manner as to meet Your Excellencies (*sic*) approbation.—I have the honor to be with the most profound respect.

Sir,

your most obedient and
most humble Servant

B Joy

To The President of the United States

¹ See H. Furber, "The Beginnings of American Trade with India 1784-1812", *New England Quarterly*, XI, 235-265.

² This and the following letters are in Department of State, General Records, Consular Despatches, Calcutta, Volume I.

Newbury Port 9th Dec^r 1792

Sir,

I this day had the honor of receiving your letter of the 21st ult^o accompanying a Commission from the President of the United States appointing me Consul at Calcutta and other ports and places on the Coast of India in Asia—I pray you to accept my grateful acknowledgements for the very obliging manner in which you have been pleased to inform me of my appointment to that office, and to be assured of my utmost exertions to fulfil the duties of that station.

I am with highest esteem and respect

Sir, your much obliged

Most obedient and

most humble Servant

B. Joy

To The Honble Thos. Jefferson, Esq^r
Secretary of State

Boston 20th Jan^y 1793

Sir,

The Consular act requiring that I shall give bond with such sureties as shall be approved by you, I have the honor of proposing for your approbation John Coffin Jones, Esq^r, Christopher Gore, Esq^r, Joseph Russell jun^r, Merchant and John Joy, jun^r gentleman, all of Boston, as sureties to be joined with me in such bond as you shall see fit to direct to be executed before I enter upon my office of Consul—The act further requiring that a consul shall provide for such shipwrecked, sick, or captive seamen as may be within his Consulate, subject to your instructions, I have to request the honor of such instructions from you on this head, and on any other business as you may wish should be followed in my department.

As American ships are frequently sold in India, there will of course be many sailors left in that country, and probably a number of them will get sick from the unhealthyness of it: from a knowledge of the Country, I am warrented in saying that the extent of the daily allowance made by Congress for the relief of sick men is not enough to give them the necessaries they will stand in need of. I beg leave to observe that there is at Calcutta a most excellent Hospital supported at a very great expense by the British East India Company to which

all white men that are sick are admitted on their paying after the rate of ten sicca rupees per month ; if I could be allowed to pay at that rate for such sick seamen as might fall under my charge, they would be admirably well provided for ; or if a law should enable a Consul in India to demand, as is the Custom in Madeira and some other places, a sum from every ship that arrives there, according to her tonnage or number of hands, for to help support such distressed seamen as might be in want in India, I am persuaded they would by means of this Hospital, be much more comfortably provided for than in any other way. Perhaps, Sir, you have thought that the wages of seamen who desert their ships should be appropriated to this benevolent use, as is the case in some ports of Europe, especially as they, for want of a home are the most likely to get sick in such hot climates as India.

I would by your instructions how to act where there may be a necessity, in order to relieve the distresses of an american (*sic*) seaman of paying a larger sum than Congress has allowed by the consular act.

With the most perfect respect

I am

Sir

your most obedient

and most Humble Servant

B. Joy

Honble Thomas Jefferson
Secretary of State

Boston 26th March 1793

Sir,

In Jan^y last, I had the Honor of transmitting to you for your approbation the names of four Gentlemen which I proposed to be my sureties in a bond for the due performance of the duties of my office. As I have not been favoured with a letter from you on the subject, I have concluded that they were acceptable to you ; on this ground, I have drawn up a bond and now forward it to you ; should you find it such as you require, I have to request that you will cause it to be filled (*sic*) in the Office of the Secretary of the Treasury.

I have the Honor to be
with the greatest respect

Sir

Thomas Jefferson, Esqr.
Secretary of State

your Ob^d H^{ble} Ser^t
B. Joy

Calcutta 24th Nov^r 1794

To Edmund Randolph, Esq^r
Secretary of State, &ca &ca

Sir,

This conveyance by the Diana Captⁿ Coffin being the first which has offered since I came here I readily embrace to inform you of my reception and what has occurred since.

Just after my arrival here I informed the Governor General in Council of this settlement that I was appointed by the President of the United States of America Consul for those States at Calcutta and all Ports and places in India and requested an opportunity to lay before him my Commission and to confer on the means most likely to further the amicable views of the President in the appointment. Sir John Shore did not see fit to have any official conversation on the business but desired to see me unofficially ; in a conversation I had with him, he informed me that Government here had no advice from home respecting the Appointment of a Consul from America for India and that it was his opinion that they could not receive me as such without some instructions from England, in however a useful point of view they might look upon my office, and was kind enough to say, on my informing him that I should find it necessary to make an official application, that he would shew me the answer that would be given to my application before it was recorded, and if I wished any alteration which could be admitted, that he would make it. I then officially sent in to the Governor General in Council my Commission as Consul stating what I conceived to be the views of the President in the Appointment and requested that he would afford me such countenance and assistance as would enable me to carry them into effect. In answer to which I received a letter from the Secretary, a copy of which I have the honor to inclose you for your perusal, and by which you will see he has written to the Directors for instructions how to act.

From the mixt government here it will not be easy to fix the kind of Protection and powers which a Consul should have in this place. The Company possess much power for altho' they are not Sovereigns, yet they mould the Sovereign hand of wax to any form they choose when it does not interfere with the wishes of the Governors of England and where it does not thwart the powers of the Supreme Court of Judicature established here by Parliament and which is totally

independent of the Government here. There is a constant jealousy between this court and the companys Government ; if the latter should determine to admit a Consul and grant him all the usual privileges, it is probable that the Supreme Court would object to it, as interfering with their judiciary powers, of which they are extremely tenacious, so that possibly nothing short of an agreement with the Government in England would be sufficient to fix a Consul here with the necessary powers to carry into effect the intentions of the Consular Act—I am persuaded that Sir John Shore, the present Governor General is disposed to do anything he can with propriety to serve me but that cannot be much toward governing seamen unless the judges join him ; I believe he is very sensible of the advantages which the Company derive from Foreigners frequenting the settlement and it is easy to see that the enhanced value of the produce by the admission of Foreigners enables them to realize a much greater revenue than they otherways could ; tho' the Company, as Merchants, may perhaps think that they (i.e. the foreigners) interfere with their Sales in Europe.

There is a jealousy existing among the British Merchants in this Country of the rising Commerce of the Americans in this quarter of the world, and I have reason to suppose there has been plans proposed to the body of Merchants here by individuals of it to thwart us in what they call the Country trade which is from port to port in India, whether it be on freight or when trading on our own Accounts. I have thought proper to give you the above information to enable you to take such measures as to you shall appear fit to procure such a reception and establishment for a Consul from the United States as will enable him to perform the Duties for which he is appointed.

It has appeared necessary to me that there should be an Agent or Vice-Consul fixed at Madras and Bombay, where there are many American ships go, but I have found a difficulty in getting Gen^m of responsibility to act as Agents in the line at those places as no one in this Country is willing to have trouble and expense without a profit is attached to it. I have, however, engaged William Abbott, Esq^r of Madras to act at that place ; he is Secretary to the Nabob of Arcot and may be depended on.

It is probable that you have much better information respecting what has taking (*sic*) place at the Isle of France in regard to our vessels than I can have ; it may not however be improper for me to observe that, from what I have been able to collect on the Subject from Americans and from English Prisoners, it appears to me that a

good deal of delay and difficulty which they experienced was owing to the imprudence of some of our own people who irritated by their conduct a certain class of the Islanders who had so much power over the Assembly as to prevail on them to detain ships long after there was the least reason for so doing. There are at present in this Port two Ships belonging to Adam Babcock and other Citizens of the United States, in one of which called the Enterprize, Captⁿ Babcock left Boston in the year 1788—the other called the American Captⁿ Babcock purchased at the Isle of France in the year 1792; he loaded them both with sugar at Manilla on account of himself and his owners and in the way from thence to Ostend he was Captured in Febry last, in the Straits of Sundy by a squadron composed of four ships which were fitted out by the English East India Company to cruise and two Dutch ships, one belonging to the States General, and one belonging to the Dutch East India Company; they sent the ships into Batavia where they detained them about five months and then brought them here; they are now libeld in the Court of Calcutta and will shortly be try'd. I have little doubt of getting them released but fear very much that the damages which Captⁿ Babcock has sustained will not be fully made up to him. When the cause shall be adjudged, I shall take the first opportunity of informing you of the result and if necessary send you such Documents as may be wanted to prove the injury—accompanying I have the honor to send you a report of the only American ships arrived at this port since I have been here, and before the 1st July, and none have sailed from hence since my arrival, before that time.

I am frequently threatened with a disorder which I contracted when last in this country, a pretty severe attack of which I have lately experienced, this together with apprehension of a War between America and Great Britain has determined me to quit this country in the course of the ensuing Season; on my arrival in America, I shall have the honor of giving any information you may wish for, as far as lays (*sic*) in my power.

I have the honor to be with
the Greatest Respect

Sir your most obedient
most hble Servant

B. Joy
American Consul for India

To

B Joy Esq^r

Sir,

I am directed by the Governor-General in Council to acknowledge his receipt of your two Letters of 3rd and 13th instant and to return you the Commission which accompanied the last with the following intimation:

The Governor-General in Council, having no Instruction from England does not think himself at liberty to admit you in the public Character of a Consul entitled to privileges; but you may reside here as a Commercial Agent, subject to the Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction of this Country, and the Governor-General in Council will apply to the Hon^{ble} Court of Directors on the Subjects of your Address.

Council Chamber
the 21st April 1794
Exd G. Morris.

I am, Sir, your most obedient
humble Servant
J. H. Harrington
Sub. Sec'y

Calcutta 22 Jan^y 1795

To Edmund Randolph, Esq^r
Secretary of State, &ca &ca

Sir,

Herewith I have the honor to send you duplicate of a letter I wrote you by the Diana Captⁿ Coffin, and have now to inform you that the Judgement of the Court delivered this day on the two ships belonging to Capt Babcock and others as mentioned in my last is that the ship America, on board of which were 103 small bags of Sugar belonging to a frenchman who had been formerly an officer on board that ship and who had those as part of his Privilege should be released together with all her Cargo except the 103 bags of Sugar which they condemnd, that each party should bear their own Cost of Suit and that no damages should be given; that the ship Enterprize be released with all her Cargo and that the Captors should pay the Cost and damages altho' this ship had on board 3 bags of the

same man's Sugar; this it appears they thought too trifling an object to be considered as a Cause for sending the Enterprize into Port. From the Judgment as delivered from the bench, I am led to think that the Ground on which they refused cost and damages on the America was her having the 103 bags of sugar on board which belonged to the frenchman altho' it was in proof that this was offered to be given up to the Captors after the Capture—Neither of the Parties have determined as yet how far they will accept the Judgment of the Court or whether they will appeal which makes it unnecessary for me to trouble you with a more particular detail of this business at present, especially as it is my intention for the reasons mentioned in my former letters to leave this Country soon for America where it will be in my power to lay it fully before you as well as a Report of all the American ships which have entered or cleared at this port since my arrival here.

I have the honor to be with sentiments
of the highest respect

Sir, your very obedient and very
humble Servant

B. Joy

Boston, 24th Jan^y 1796

To the Honorable
Timothy Pickering
Secretary of State, &ca &ca

Sir,

In my last letters from Bengal, I had the honor of informing the Secretary of State that I had, on account of my bad health determined to quit the Country, and that it would depend on the state of my health after I got here whether I returned to it again or not. I have got much better since my arrival here but am advised by my Physician not to go back to that country as I must by so doing subject myself to a return of the liver complaint. I have therefore now determined not to go back to India, and, as I can no longer be of service as Consul there, I have to request that you will be pleased to consider this a resignation of my appointment to that office and that you will acquaint the President therewith.

I have discovered that the Private letters which I sent in december 94 and which were accompanied by one to the Secretary of State were suppressed and, as those w^{ch} were put into the same ship in which I sent my return to Jan'y 95 have not come to hand, I apprehend the same misfortune has attended them; should the returns not have reached your office and you will favor me with notice thereof I will send forward Copies.

Feeling that a Consul may be essentially necessary in India for the good and safety of our increasing commerce in that country, I have to request your forgiveness if I am extra official in informing you that it appears to me that the person holding that office should be an American by birth; for should a subject of the King of Great Britain be appointed it would be quite in the power of the Government there to send him to Europe prisoner when ever they saw fit unless some convention is made with that country to prevent it; their India act gives full power to the Governor of any of their settlements to send any British subject from the other side of the Cape of Good Hope that is not actually in the service of the British King. I beg leave to add that I am persuaded the present Governor-General and the leading Members of the Government, from the partiallity they have for the American Character and for that of our Illustrious President, would be desirous that the American Consul should be an American by birth or at least of long standing in this Country, and I fear if there should be a necessity of appointing a British subject to that office, and one who has not the Company's permission to reside there, that they would feel themselves in rather an awkward situation respecting the mode of treating him, as they are enjoined by their orders from home not to allow persons to remain there without the Company's permission. I am induced to state this to you Sir, from knowing their sentiments on the subject.

I am
with sentiments of the greatest
Respect
Sir
your most Obedient
and Hmble Servant
B. Joy

TOWN RECORDS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

THE STATE of New Hampshire is one of six in the New England group located in the northeast corner of the United States. New Hampshire is a wedge shaped area placed between Maine and Vermont. According to the census of 1950, the population was listed at a little over half a million. With the exception of its cities, the State is rural in character. Because the United States is a Federal union, the State of New Hampshire may be said to govern itself. Its voters elect the governor and the members of the State Legislature, send representatives and senators to the national Congress, and choose most of the county, city and town officials. New Hampshire was founded in 1623, just a few years before the Taj Mahal was begun and has been developing its sturdy political life for over three centuries.

New Hampshire is divided into ten counties, eleven cities and 225 towns. The counties are not important in this State as is the case in the western and southern states of the American Union. In passing it may be said that the three county offices of record, the register of deeds, the register of probate and the clerk of the superior court keep their archives in well-appointed vaults in the county seats. The eleven cities, generally but not always larger than the towns, have records systems centralized around the office of the city clerk. Lowest in the scale (except the precincts which all towns do not have) are the towns whose records bear directly on the inhabitants thereof.

The political life of the town centres around the town meeting. Here the voters of the town meet to elect their officers, vote taxes and determine town policy. It is said that voters in certain Swiss cantons gather on a Sunday afternoon, dressed in their sober clothes and black hats to give their decisions in open air meetings. Although many New Hampshire voters wear checked mackinaw jackets on town meeting day because it is still cold in northern New England on that second Tuesday in March, yet they have this in common with the Swiss: both are examples of pure democracy, few of which are left in the world.

Town government in New Hampshire is not only fundamental but its antiquity in the State dates from the founding of the colony. It may be said that New Hampshire had town government before it had province or county government. Portsmouth, Dover and Exeter existed as virtually independent republics under town form of government before being temporarily absorbed by Massachusetts, the colony

to the south. Indeed, the inhabitants of Exeter in their "Exeter Combination" compacted to form a government and this document has been considered the first known agreement in New Hampshire to submit to self-imposed taxes. Town government continued under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts during the Seventeenth Century, emerged unhampered when New Hampshire became a separate colony and grew to full stature during independence and statehood. At present the town is a corporate entity with "power to sue and be sued," may own property for public use, make contracts and by-laws and appropriate money for more than a score of purposes ranging from the support of schools to the defraying of "all necessary charges arising within the town."

The chief office of record is that of the town clerk. This officer maintains the minutes of the town meetings mentioned above in what is generally known as the 'Town Record Book'. In the Town of Atkinson, for example, these minutes go back to the year 1767 and, while this is not ancient by European standards, nevertheless they represent records of an older state as compared with one of more recent date such as Oklahoma. The minutes contain also a vast miscellanea of material. In one town, an analysis showed that there were over forty discrete items or portions of other types of records contained in these minute books ranging from abatement of taxes to the sale of pews (when church and town were joined). These record books may be called 'historical' in the sense that they provide the bare bones with which further research may build the whole body of town history.

Vital statistics are also the concern of the town clerk who records births, marriages and deaths. He records also chattel mortgages and conditional sales; appointments; oaths and bonds of town officers; fires; licenses and permits (especially dog licenses and automobile permits); perambulations of town lines; and the drawing of jurors. Besides the records of his own office the town clerk is required to keep in his custody the records of defunct offices and organizations such as dissolved school districts and the superintending school committee.

The board of selectmen is composed of three members, one elected at each annual town meeting for a three year term. The selectmen are the executive officials of the town. In most towns the selectmen are also the assessors of taxes and this capacity is reflected in their assessors' blotter books and the invoice books wherein are entered the lists of taxable property and polls. They prepare the agenda for the town meeting and this is printed as the 'warrant' in the annual

report which document contains the reports of the major and minor town officers. In many towns the selectmen act in addition as a board of welfare and records pertaining to this function are to be found. They prepare lists of jurors who are drawn by the town clerk. They are empowered to fill vacancies in town offices.

Next in the roster of town officials is the tax collector. He collects the taxes assessed by the selectmen in their capacity as assessors. His duties are simple, so his records are few. He keeps the regulation State Tax Collector's Book in which the payments are listed. His collections are turned over to the town treasurer. The latter maintains his cash book, a record of notes against the town and orders on the treasurer from the selectmen calling upon him to make payments for town expenses.

The selectmen, town clerk, tax collector and treasurer constitute the major officers in the town. The minor town officers are the auditors, trustees of trust funds, cemetery trustees, moderator, supervisors of the check-list, library trustees, health officer, highway agent, constables and many others not all of whom keep separate records. In addition there are a number of defunct town offices reminiscent of forgotten duties of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries such as gager of casks, pound keeper, hog reeve, deer keeper, fence viewer and tythingman.

Somewhat apart from the regular town officials is the school board whose duty it is to provide education for the children in the town through membership in a supervisory union (a State grouping of towns under one superintendent) under the general direction of the State Board of Education. But at the local level the school board convenes in a separate meeting of the voters annually and reports its activities in a separate section of the printed annual report. Its records consist of minutes of meetings, contracts with teachers and a general accounting record. The school registers are sometimes to be found with the records of the school board, the supervisory union or the town clerk.

Although the election of town officials is a local affair, the methods employed in record keeping do not depend entirely upon local vagary. Most of the important records are prescribed by the State in terms of standard forms to be used. For instance, the assessors' books, forms for reporting vital statistics, automobile permits and many others are dictated by certain State departments.

An archivist is interested not only in the kinds of records but how well they are kept. The protection of records in New Hampshire

towns leaves much to be desired. Only in the larger towns are there evidences of a well ordered system and adequate vaults. Many of the towns have safes in the town halls but it should be remembered that many of the minor officials keep the records in their own homes. In the case of most persons holding town office, this function is not a full time job nor are salaries commensurate with full time employment in town affairs. But on the brighter side, it should be noted that vital statistics records have the additional guarantee of duplication at Concord, the State capital. Since about the time of the Civil War, copies of births, deaths and marriages have been sent to the State Registrar of Vital Statistics in addition to being recorded in the town. Towns, alert to the value of their older records, have placed them on deposit at places of greater safety such as the State Library, the New Hampshire Historical Society and the Secretary of State. In the case of town records prior to 1825 there is the added security of the copying programme carried on by the Secretary of State. Under a law of about 1913, the Secretary of State was empowered to call in and copy the early town and parish (church) records. This process proceeded slowly until 1933 when Federal funds were made available for work relief projects. Projects were accordingly set up under the various relief administrations and by 1939 the programme had been pushed through to completion. An index of about 750,000 names has been compiled to aid research in the copied records. Probably no other state has handled its town records in this manner.

At the present moment it is hard to see any solution to the archival problem presented by the town records. In the smaller towns, the hazards of fire, damp and vermin are still present. Laws inveigh against the mistreatment of records but they do not have teeth in them. There is no State Archives in New Hampshire to offer central protection and adequate supervision of record keeping and record disposition in the towns. Moreover, there is not much likelihood of the establishment of a State Archives as long as the State is in its present economy-minded mood. But, at least, the scholar can do this much: he can pursue his researches easily in the period prior to 1825 and for the last century or so he can act quickly and use the records that are still extant.

RICHARD G. WOOD

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON ARCHIVES¹

TO HOLD periodically an International Congress of Archivists is first among the general objectives of the International Council of Archives according to the Instrument which created it. It, therefore, gives me very great pleasure to be able in the capacity of the President of the International Council to welcome the opening of the first Universal World Congress, which has come into being with such conspicuous success hardly two years after the creation of the Council itself and which constitutes, I believe, a memorable occasion for the archivists all over the world.

Archives! a word strange and somewhat mysterious, which, be it said in passing, has become feminised in course of time very much like the word 'horloge'. By an etymology entirely false, but none the less expressive, our ancestors have derived it from *arcus* or *arca* (vault or chest). It evokes thus in their spirit the idea of inviolable, walled up hiding places intended to protect objects particularly precious, *i.e.*, treasures, the treasures of charters among others. The expression is very ancient and it is still in vogue. How indeed to conceive of a civilised nation, an organisation or a service, large or small, a family or even a private individual who does not possess archives or who can afford to treat them with contempt? The French, born railers as they are, are fond of saying with Beaumarchais: "Everything ends with a song". Will it not be more correct to say "Everything ends with archives" and should it not also be added: "It is good, it is logical, it is necessary that it is finally to the creation of archives that all human activities lead."?

Archives are, moreover, administrative activities, whether public or private, transformed into history. One cannot deny that it is the faculty of remembering one's past and endeavouring to know the past of one's ancestors which distinguishes man from the animal much

¹ Translated from the original French text of the address delivered by Dr. Charles Samaran on the opening day of the first International Congress on Archives held in Paris from the 23rd to 26th August, 1950. It is very appropriate that M. Samaran has sent it to us for inclusion in the Cuvelier Number of *The Indian Archives* as a mark of respect to the memory of the great Belgian Archivist. Cuvelier, as is well-known, was a staunch advocate of the cause of international cooperation in the archival field and was one of the chief architects of the International Congress of Archivists and Librarians which held its first session in Brussels in 1910. It was his dream to see established an international body consisting exclusively of archivists and devoted entirely to the solution of archival problems. That dream has become a reality with the opening in Paris this year of the International Congress on Archives.

better than even the faculty of making love in all seasons to which the ancients attached so much importance. If, to understand the problem still better, I have to search for a metaphor, not academic perhaps, but sufficiently expressive and capable of being borne in memory, I would say that Archives are administration and history hidden in a flask and that if a Government can neglect records only at the risk of travelling in empty air, no nation worth its name can dare to take the responsibility of openly treating their archives with indifference. This is why the International Council of Archives, which is now constituted in its definitive form under the guardianship of UNESCO and to which only yesterday, M. Torres Bodet, its eminent Director-General, lent in moving terms all his support, and the International Congress which is the most splendid and perhaps the most useful product of the Council's activities, have pledged themselves to oppose with all their resources the equation, "archives = useless paper", artfully coined by unscrupulous dealers and very often accepted for their convenience by administrators, legislators, and scholars and, I would venture to say, even by ill-informed and easygoing ministers.

But then it may be asked: will you keep all the papers, whatever they be, and keep them for an indefinite time? Certainly not. We archivists are in a better position to know than anybody else that such an ideal, were it even desirable, would be no more capable of realisation than, for instance, any project to raise an imperishable monument to every man that has left the world since life first manifested itself on the earth, a task which, if implemented, would have left no space for the living.

This is why we have placed on the agenda of this Congress a number of problems which are of fundamental importance to the archivists all over the world. They are:

What should be done to enable the archivists engaged in arranging and preserving archives to know in advance the nature of the materials that the archives-creating bodies are going to deliver to them so as to prevent the historian from being confronted some day (as it has happened so many times in the past and is still happening now) by enormous gaps impossible to fill in or by heaps of official papers altogether useless?

What mechanical means should be adopted to reduce the volume of archives to be preserved and to keep in different places their duplicates or triplicates so as to increase as far as possible their chances of survival?

How to save the very important category of economic archives which has so far been regarded as being doomed to destruction and which are increasing at a pace beyond control?

How, finally, with our very limited resources, to establish a system which would enable the archivists all over the world to exchange their views, their methods and their experiences instead of being shut up in their own countries or towns as in a closed vessel?

* * * *

But I should not abuse the patience of this large and distinguished gathering. To sum up, I would say in brief that judging by the lively interest and importance of the topics to be discussed very shortly, by the number and the worth of the participants who have come from the most diverse places of the globe, by the variety, the beauty and the value of the exhibitions, visits and excursions which will complete the conference and finally, by the incomparable setting of history and art in which the Director of the Archives of France, my successor and friend, is going to welcome the Congress, we have every reason to expect that it is going to be a happy and splendid success.

CHARLES SAMARAN

REPORT ON A SCIENTIFIC MISSION TO GERMAN, AUSTRIAN AND SWISS ARCHIVES*

Mr. Minister:

You were good enough to authorize me to visit the principal archives of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and German Switzerland, in order to study their organization at first hand, with a view to eventual improvements to be made in the organization of our national archives.

I have the honour to submit to you a detailed report on the results of that mission.

Since I was obliged to choose among the numerous establishments available for my inspection, I went to the State Archives at Berlin, Dresden, Prague, Vienna, Munich, Zurich, Düsseldorf, and Basel; the Archives of the City of Nuremberg; the new repository of the Military Archives at Munich; and the Economic Archives at Basel and at Cologne.

It seemed to me that I should also include in this programme the Archives of the City of Mainz; the State Archives at Wiesbaden, Nuremberg, Bamberg, and Breslau (where I had the good fortune to attend the 13th Congress of German Archivists); the Territorial and the Communal Archives at Prague; and the State Archives at Innsbruck and Lucerne.

I left Brussels on July 19 and returned August 23 [1913], having inspected 22 archives repositories and attended the Congress of Archivists at Breslau. I also had the pleasure of being informed by His Excellency Dr. R. Koser, Director General of the Archives of Prussia, concerning the course on archival economy which he gives so competently at Berlin.

After expressing to you, Mr. Minister, my deepest thanks for enabling me to perform my mission in a fitting manner, I feel it a matter of gratitude to inform you, before proceeding with this account, of the warm welcome I received everywhere on my trip. The graciousness of my German-speaking colleagues in answering the numerous questions I had to ask them, as well as in showing all that might be of interest to me in their organizations, left nothing to be desired. If my mission should benefit the Belgian archives, it will

* This report, addressed to P. Poulet, Minister of Sciences and Arts of Belgium, by the Archivist General of the Kingdom of Belgium, was published in *Les Archives de l'Etat en Belgique*, 1914, p. 437-470. The report was translated into English by Lillie A. Bontz, Division of Independent Agencies Archives, U.S. National Archives, and published as a Staff Information Circular in February 1939. Reprinted by courtesy of the National Archives, Washington, D.C.

be because of the unfailing kindness of the heads of the repositories visited.

It would be absurd to pretend that everything in the organization of the archives repositories of Germany, Austria, and Switzerland should be adopted. In some respects the Belgian archives are unquestionably superior and in certain others they would bear favourable comparison with those of foreign countries. Nevertheless, I do not believe that I visited a single repository without observing some improvement, if only slight, that might be introduced into Belgium. This shows at once the value of such missions. My report will treat primarily of the improvements noticed ; but, instead of presenting an analytical study concerning each repository visited, it probably will be more helpful to assemble under the following headings the information gathered, and to speak in turn of:

- (1) the archives buildings, with all that pertains to methods for the physical preservation of the documents ;
- (2) the varieties of archives preserved ;
- (3) the organization of archives administrations ;
- (4) the personnel of the archives.

CHAPTER I. ARCHIVES BUILDINGS

Most of the buildings I inspected were constructed for the sole purpose of serving as archives repositories. This is especially true in Prussia of the State Archives at Düsseldorf, Wiesbaden, and Breslau ; in Bavaria of the Archives of the Kingdom at Nuremberg and Bamberg, as well as of the Military Archives at Munich ; in Austria of the Imperial and Royal Archives of the Royal House, the Court, and the State at Vienna ; and in Switzerland of the State Archives at Basel. It will be true, likewise, of the new repositories of the General Archives of the Kingdoms of Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria at Berlin, Dresden, and Munich, respectively, the plans of which I was privileged to see.

The first and cardinal principle, admitted today as binding, is the complete isolation of the archives buildings and the definite separation of the administrative buildings and the repository proper. In the administrative buildings are located the residence of the archivist, or of the concierge ; the public reading room ; the offices of the officials and staff ; the library ; the workshops for binding and moulding ; the room for the repair of records, seals, and electrotypes ; the room for photography, with a dark room ; the shipping and

receiving room ; and the basement with the central heating plant—heat and light are generated there.

The administrative buildings are connected with the repository proper, where the archives are preserved, by a covered stone gallery from 6 to 10 metres long, generally located on the second floor and constituting the only regular access to the repository. The importance of this arrangement is obvious. No document can leave the repository, which is provided with a heavy iron door, until it has been entered in a register by an employee on duty in the gallery, and the name of the person who receives it, whether he be an official or an outsider, is likewise recorded.

The following dimensions of administrative buildings and repositories are given as examples:

At Düsseldorf, on a site containing 2, 118 square metres, is an administrative building 30 metres wide by 10.53 metres deep, connected with the repository by a bridge 6 metres long. The repository itself, consisting of 6 rooms superposed, is 22.58 metres deep (with the room for photography and the dark room, 30 metres), 15.28 metres wide, and 16.50 metres high.

At Breslau, on 2,240 square metres of land, the administrative building is 23 metres wide by 11 metres deep, and is connected with the repository by a 6-metre bridge. The repository itself is 20.18 metres long by 17.14 metres wide.

At Amberg, Bavaria, the repository (five tiers, separated by iron grills) is 40 metres long by 14.48 metres wide, the administrative building is 25.14 metres wide by 14.44 metres deep, and the gallery connecting the two buildings is 10 metres long.

The other repositories I inspected (excepting the one at Wiesbaden, where the stacks were added in 1909 to an old building erected in 1880 and some of the records are preserved in the old part) were not built on the model described above. At the Circuit Archives in Nuremberg¹ the offices are entirely separate from the repository and it is necessary to cross an uncovered court, which naturally causes much inconvenience.

The new repositories at Berlin, Dresden, and Munich will be constructed like those at Düsseldorf and Breslau, in spite of the objections to the bridge voiced by Grotefend at the Congress of

¹ For information about the Circuit Archives, see M.D. Learned, *Guide to the Manuscript Materials Relating to American History in the German State Archives* (Washington, 1912), 12, 191.—Ed.

Archivists at Graz in 1911, when he stressed the advantages of the simple staircases used at Magdeburg and Schwerin.

In the new repositories where, as at Vienna and Basel, lack of space prevents a separation of the administrative building from the repository proper, a *Brandmauer* or fire-proof wall has been erected between them.

In all the repositories the stacks are built in a number of very low tiers (2.50 metres high) in such a way as to obviate the use of ladders. These tiers are separated from each other by solid ceilings or by simple gratings. By means of a series of gratings, repositories of six or seven tiers receive daylight through the glass roof on down to the ground floor. In others, the solid ceilings and gratings alternate and light comes in through the windows on the two sides, just as in the repositories where every tier has its solid ceiling. Each system has its advocates. Certainly, in that where the gratings are at right-angles to the windows, air, light, and heat circulate better; but the gratings generally cost more than the solid ceilings, and an archivist occupied in research on a lower tier is sometimes disagreeably surprised by dust falling from above. Furthermore, if fire should break out in one of these repositories which, in a way, consist of a single room, it would be impossible to localize it.

Under these circumstances, it seems to me that the system of solid ceilings (such as exist at Düsseldorf) with a vertical division of the repository into two or more compartments (as at Vienna) merits preference. But in that case it is essential that the repository be not too wide and that a centre passage be provided, with a large window and balcony at the end of it; otherwise the light coming through the windows will be insufficient and it will be necessary to have recourse, as at Vienna, to artificial light, which, I believe, should be absolutely disapproved, in view of the damage frequently done by electricity in our archives and libraries.

The system I have just recommended is, in a way, a combination of the stack system (*Magazinsystem*) and the room or compartment system (*Kammer—or Kabinettensystem*). The latter, which consists of installing the archives in a great number of rooms almost independent of each other—a system also used at the Public Record Office in London—has found an ardent advocate in Mr. Sebert, State Archivist at Bamberg. The fine repository at Bamberg, where air and light circulate profusely, has, in my opinion, but one drawback: it could not be reproduced in our large Belgian cities where the cost

of land is too high to permit us to have at our disposal such a large site for such a relatively small quantity of archives.²

For this reason the stack system, modified as I have just indicated—which has been applied in its most perfected form at Basel—will come more and more into favour, even when in Belgium, as in other countries, the policy of constructing archives repositories away from the heart of the city is adopted. In fact, for the small number of archives investigators it is not at all necessary to imitate the great libraries by occupying central sites that could be better set aside for the more frequented scientific establishments. Moreover, it is practically only in sections of the city removed from the centre that complete isolation of the archives buildings can be had.³

It is also necessary to have hot-water heat in the repository; otherwise, dampness will soon begin its destruction. This system of heating is employed almost everywhere in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. Where it has not been possible to install it, as in a few old buildings that happened to be taken over for archives use, the documents are badly affected by mould. Bamberg is about the only place I know of where, because of the profuse circulation of light and air, it has been possible thus far, to do without any type of heating in the building. Beneath the repository at Vienna is a well-ventilated cellar, the flooring of which is laid on a deep layer of concrete. The walls are asphalted on the outside and covered on the inside with Ponte cement and a coat of oil paint. The wrought iron supports that, up to the eleventh tier, form the vertical parts of the building, rest on 96 columns of fireproof stones cemented with mortar of Portland cement and set between the cast iron plates of the basement flooring. These wrought iron supports are arranged in such a way that they, and not the walls, bear the weight of the eleven tiers. The walls, like those at Düsseldorf, are built on huge blocks of concrete. Vents 1.58 metres wide are cut in the cellar. An electric fan that operates on the street side of the second floor facilitates a change of air from the cellar to the eleventh tier. This ventilating system maintains the dryness so essential for the documents.

The different floors are connected by iron stairways, usually located in the centre of the building, and by a lift installed near the

² The site on which the repository at Bamberg is built has an area of two-thirds of a hectare, and, furthermore, all dangerous construction within a radius of 25 metres is prohibited.

³ At Breslau there is always to be a distance of 20 metres between the archives buildings and structures surrounding them.

entrance. The lifts at Wiesbaden, Breslau, Vienna, etc., can support a weight of 400 kilograms.

The stacks, about 2.25 metres high and 68 centimetres across, are nearly always of iron, and the system of Lipman, of Strasbourg, seems to be preferred by most of the archivists (Düsseldorf, Vienna, Breslau, etc.).

Sometimes the shelves are sliding boards that can be pulled out half way.

In the double stacks there are partitions of latticework, to prevent the volumes that extend too far back from pushing off those on the opposite side. Everywhere measures have been taken to promote the circulation of air within the stacks by piercing small holes (forming a decorative motif) in the uprights, and also in the metal shelves. The shelves to be used for cartons are divided into numerous compartments by thin iron rods placed vertically. To permit short people to reach the highest shelf without difficulty, footstools 20 to 34 centimetres high have been put in the repository. To this system I prefer the one used at the General Archives of the Kingdom of The Netherlands, at The Hague. It consists of a metal bar placed several centimetres from the floor all along the stacks and of a handle on the uprights of the stacks to enable one to balance himself. A centre passage about 1.50 metres wide generally separates the various rooms into two parts. In addition, in several repositories there are by the windows two lateral passages from 80 centimetres to 1.20 metres wide. The distance between the stacks varies from 1 metre to 1.35 metres. Everywhere, but particularly in repositories that are very wide, light materials and colours are recommended to increase the light. Indeed it often happens that on the lower floors the protective iron work on the windows shuts out the light. It is also important to see to it that this iron work can be opened from within the building to facilitate the rescue of the documents in case of emergency. The windows of the upper floors have thick wired glass embedded in the framework in such a manner as to leave play for expansion. Fire breaks this wired glass as it does the ordinary kind, but the pieces, held by the steel mesh, press together in expanding and prevent the smoke from passing.⁴ Generally at the end of the centre passage there is a window with a balcony; this is very practical, not only in view of the additional light thus obtained, but also for use in cleaning the records. Each floor has movable desks, chairs, and even small

⁴ This system is used in the new repository of State Archives at Antwerp.

rolling tables for work there. Finally, on each floor is a telephone, by means of which the director's office, the staff offices, and the public reading room can be reached. It is hardly necessary to say that water, fire hose, and fire extinguishing apparatus are provided on each floor. In some repositories I observed portable lanterns that could be used in case of disaster during the night.

Naturally my attention was directed primarily to the buildings of State Archives, but whenever I had an opportunity to study successful innovations in repositories of communal archives I did not miss visiting them. There is not much to be said about the buildings. The Archives of the City of Nuremberg are installed with the communal library in a former convent. Those of Prague are in the City Hall. Only the Archives of the Cities of Cologne and Mainz have special buildings, but as they also house the libraries, it was hardly possible to attain perfection in construction. At Mainz the building is not even entirely isolated. We must, however, approve the circular of the Prussian Minister of the Interior, dated March 6, 1900, which urged the communes intending to build or to repair their archives repositories to submit their plans to the State Archives administration.

I shall end this description of archives buildings by giving certain cost figures:

The repository at Düsseldorf cost 248,000 marks (32,000 was for inside equipment), not including the land, ceded gratuitously by the city. The Archives and Library of the City of Cologne cost 571,000 marks. Those of the Circuit at Speyer and Amberg cost about 300,000 marks, which was the cost of the new stacks alone at Wiesbaden. The repository of the State Archives at Bamberg, built in 1902-5, cost 640,000 marks. The new repository at Dresden, to be completed in 1915, will consist of eleven or twelve tiers of 2.50 metres each, of reinforced concrete without gratings, and will cost 2,000,000 marks; this is more than the construction cost of the Public Record Office at London, which was only 2,000,000 francs, and more also than the cost of the new repository of State Archives at Vienna, which was only 2,000,000 crowns. The repository at Breslau cost 493,303 marks, but the sale of the old site and of certain portions of land of the new one brought 375,840 marks, so that the new repository really cost the State only 117,000 marks, whereas the plans for remodelling the old one anticipated an expenditure of 184,000 marks. The State of Prussia made an excellent transaction in constructing entirely new buildings for the Archives at Breslau. The

furnishings of the Archives of the Ministry of War, located with the library in the War Museum at Munich, cost over 50,000 marks. Finally, the cost of the repository at Basel amounted to 260,000 francs without the masonry.⁵

Preservation of Archives

Archives consist of registers ; of separate items on paper or parchment, with or without seals ; and of maps and plans.

There is little to be said about registers, except that everywhere great care is taken to preserve the bindings and to have them repaired by bookbinders who are employed at the repositories. In the smaller repositories an office boy or guard usually does the binding. In some places, as at Wiesbaden, a little hand machine is used for miscellaneous printing (labels, bulletins, letterheads, etc.).

In many repositories the registers and portfolios are filed flat instead of being placed upright. The advantages of this method are rather numerous as regards portfolios. Dust does not penetrate into them as easily when they are filed flat, and the documents are therefore less damaged. Signatures and *cachets* (seals impressed on instead of appended to the documents) are generally at the bottom of the paper, and are thus more easily damaged by rubbing on the shelves, since the workers usually take little care to put the records consulted in their former position. The use of cords and strings increases the danger, and they might well be replaced by laces. In the system of filing portfolios flat, the cases can be thinner than when they are filed upright ; and in the upright filing it would be necessary to draw the laces tighter. On the other hand, it is easier to remove the vertically filed portfolios from the shelves, and they usually take up less space than when filed flat.

In the course of my trip I did not come across a system of portfolios superior in quality or type to that used in Belgium.

The method of preserving charters in use here seems to me to bear favourable comparison with that of other countries.

For the preservation of seals, the upright position of the envelopes enclosing the charters seems to me superior to that of the flat position, insofar as it prevents the charters from being pressed together too tightly. The main thing is to see that the cartons are sufficiently high and long to avoid the necessity of folding the parchment too much and to

⁵ In 1913 the Belgian franc was valued at 19·3 cents, the German mark at 23·8 cents, and the Austrian crown at 20·3 cents.—Ed.

supply the cartons with little holes allowing the circulation of air. This system is partially in effect at the repository at Liège, and it should be more generally used. At Vienna charters are preserved in tin containers measuring 57·3 centimetres high, 52 centimetres wide, and 45 centimetres deep. Each box has two drawers made of cherry wood; the lower drawer rests on the bottom of the box, and the upper drawer rests on two movable rods that will fit into the holes (of which about 20 are made in the uprights); the holes that are temporarily unused allow air to circulate in the boxes. Empty, a box weighs 27 kilograms, which seems to me considerable weight in case of an emergency removal. As for the luxurious containers that house the 80,000 charters at the Bamberg repository, we could not dream of installing anything similar in a Belgian repository; space is absolutely lacking in our present buildings, and it is hardly to be imagined that in those to be constructed in the future the rooms will be as large as they are at the Bamberg Archives.

Maps and plans are generally filed in drawers (Wiesbaden, Basel, etc.). Those that exceed given dimensions are rolled and placed upright in a very practical sort of revolving cabinet (Wiesbaden).

Cleaning Archives

If free circulation of light and air is properly sought in all the repositories, nevertheless, it must be said that it causes a considerable quantity of dust to accumulate, and this quantity is augmented by the installation of central heating. The dust, treacherously filtering into the interstices of the documents, after a time seriously damages them.

Archivists therefore give much thought to the question of cleaning their records. Especially since the invention of new mechanical devices, the most divergent opinions are voiced about the methods to be employed. Vacuum cleaning is warmly recommended by Dr. Ilgen, Director of the Archives at Düsseldorf, where, with the aid of two convicts under supervision of a guard and an office boy, this work is done 6 or 8 weeks of each year. Vacuum cleaning is also recommended by Mr. Geiger, Director of the Circuit Archives at Nuremberg. Each year a fourth of his records are cleaned. Three years ago an electric machine was acquired at Wiesbaden. Dr. von Domarus, who demonstrated the equipment to me, is less enthusiastic about it. It is rather expensive, two people are required to operate it, and it is no quicker than cleaning the documents by shaking them on

the balcony of each tier,⁶ as is the custom at the Communal Archives in Rotterdam. At the Archives of the Kingdom of Saxony, in Dresden, cleaning by vacuum is firmly opposed on the ground that it nearly always damages the documents. A woman is employed permanently to clean the records. When it is necessary to move heavy registers the guard assists her. In view of these contradictory opinions about methods, the only conclusion to be reached at present is that cleaning is indispensable and that one person should be charged with the task.

Repairing Archives

To keep the archives well cleaned is to lessen the labour of repairing them. Nevertheless, the passing centuries have done such damage that the problem of salvaging documents injured by insects⁷ or by mould has arisen everywhere in recent times. Nowhere, however, has there been more active search for a remedy for the evil than in Germany. For some 15 years past there has been hardly a Congress of Archivists at which the question has not been discussed, and between the meetings scholars such as Dr. Posse, Director of the General Archives of the Kingdom of Saxony, have continued their experiments and research in the silence of the laboratory. I had the good fortune to witness an experiment with zapon at Dresden. Documents that were crumbling and had to be moved with the utmost care came from the Neu-zapon bath as if revived and were as solid as ordinary papers. A flask of this liquid, which is manufactured at the Chemical Laboratory of Leonhardi at Dresden-Loschwitz, costs five marks and will last for some time. So far, the only objection that might be made concerns the durability of the remedy. Time itself will make known to us the best process; meanwhile nothing prevents us from experimenting with documents that in any case would be regarded as beyond repair.⁸

⁶ On each tier there is also a wastebasket, a brush, and a cloth for cleaning documents requested for examination.

⁷ See the communication of Dr. Prümmer, Archivist of Posen, at the Congress of Archivists at Bamberg, "Die Papierfeinde aus dem Insektenreiche," *Korrespondenzblatt des Gesamtvereins der deutschen Geschichts- und Altertumsvereine* ("The Enemies of Paper in the Insect Kingdom," *Journal of the Federation of German Historical and Antiquarian Societies*), 1905. Cf. *Archivalische Zeitschrift* (*Archival Journal*), 1906.

⁸ It is needless to say that here I can only touch lightly the question of restoring documents. Since I am not an authority in Chemistry, I shall refrain from taking sides in favour of either process used in Germany. When experiments are made in Belgium by a professional chemist, it will be necessary to give serious consideration to the method of Dr. Posse, as well as to that recommended by the Royal Materials

The same was true of the experiments I witnessed at Breslau with new processes for restoring faded writing. I saw documents on parchment that for centuries had served as register covers and on which the writing had entirely disappeared subjected to chemical processes of Dr. Lowew, an archivist of Breslau; of Dr. Rehme, a university professor of Halle-on-Salle; and of Willy Th. Sauter, a pharmacist of Schorndorf, Württemberg. These documents became perfectly legible and were not stained, as happens when tannin or gall-nut is used. According to the lecturers, they had the advantage over documents treated with a concentrated solution of ammonium sulphide of remaining legible for an indefinite period of time. Experiments of this sort have only strengthened my conviction that the salvaging of deteriorated documents is nothing more than a question of time but that the study of means should definitely be entrusted only to scholars who have a thorough knowledge of chemistry, that is, to doctors of chemical sciences.⁹

A scholar of the type that you have desired in the General Archives of the Kingdom of Belgium will soon be employed in the German Archives. According to a conversation I had with Dr. Koser, Director General of the Prussian Archives, when the new repository of the General Archives of Prussia is constructed, a workroom for the restoration of records will be provided and a scholar who has specialized in chemistry will have charge of this work.¹⁰

Photographic Workroom

Naturally, this chemist will also be in charge of the photographic workroom, which is becoming more and more an indispensable complement of a good archives repository. Such rooms exist at Düsseldorf, Wiesbaden, Dresden, Vienna, and Karlsruhe, and indeed, at all the new repositories. At the last named place, instead of including the rooms for photographic reproduction and the restoration of documents in the main building, a happy idea brought about their installation in a separate one constructed for those purposes

Testing Office (*Kgl. Materialprüfungsamt*) at Lichtervelde, and also to the processes used in Italy, Holland, etc. Cf. *protokolle des zehnten deutschen Archivtags in Posen* (*Minutes of the Tenth Congress of German Archivists in Posen*), Sept. 6, 1910.

⁹ As early as the conference of St. Gall for the restoration of manuscripts, held in 1898, it was decided that curators of manuscripts should confer with chemists regarding this work.

¹⁰ At the moment of correcting the proof-sheets of this report, the welcome news has come to me from the Minister of Sciences and Arts that Mr. Claessens, doctor of chemical sciences, has been appointed research chemist at the General Archives of the Kingdom of Belgium, at Brussels (March 1914).

and connected with the repository by a covered gallery. At more than one repository regret was expressed that there was no specialist for photographic work on the staff, so that it was left to the archivists. Since an international congress for the reproduction of manuscripts, coins, and seals was held at Liège in 1905 and its proceedings have received general approval, it will be unnecessary to set forth here the usefulness of photographic equipment in all the large archives repositories. Unquestionably, from a scientific point of view, a photograph of a document will always be more valuable to the scholar than a copy, even though certified as true and accurate; and the preservation of documents themselves will be promoted by photography, because it will no longer be necessary to send out unique records and expose them to the risks involved in circulation outside the repository. Finally, in case of loss or destruction of the original, there will be the photograph to represent as nearly as possible the document that has disappeared. We shall not speak of the service photography renders in questions of the falsification of documents, of palimpsests, etc. In Prussia an archivist, Dr. Warschauer, was detailed for several weeks to the photochemical laboratory of the Technical University of Berlin, at Charlottenburg. The remarkable results of his collaboration with Mr. Otto Mente, first assistant at the laboratory, have been recorded by them and will be a precious guide for all persons concerned with photography in archives repositories.¹¹

Libraries in Archives Repositories

Each repository has a library containing reference works and books on local history. Although this library may be intended only for the staff, in most of the repositories the books are placed at the disposal of the investigators, and general reference works are even put in the public reading room. Of course, all the libraries are not as rich as that of the Archives of the Royal House at Charlottenburg, which, since 1896, has contained over 45,000 volumes; or even as that of the city of Prague, which at present contains 25,000 volumes. But everywhere the State furnishes the repository with means of acquiring for its library the principal publications concerning archives. Each year at the General Archives of Dresden a sum of 2,500 francs is set aside for the purchase of books for the library.

¹¹ See "Die Anwendung der Photographie für die archivalische Praxis von Otto Mente und Adolf Warschauer," *Mitteilungen der K. Preussischen Archivverwaltung*, Heft 15 ("The Use of Photography for Archival Purposes by Otto Mente and Adolf Warschauer," *Communications of the Royal Prussian Archives Administration*, No. 15), Leipzig, 1909.

Exhibition of Archives

A majority of the archives repositories have a special room where the most interesting documents in their collections are displayed to the general public.¹²

At Vienna the museum is on the seventh floor of the repository. The showcases in the middle of the room contain permanent exhibits of documents, the wall cases those that are changed according to circumstances and current events. A catalogue containing a detailed description of the documents displayed has been published by the Archives administration. The documents on temporary exhibition are described in loose leaves inserted in the catalogue. Mention should also be made of the fine display of the Archives of the City of Nuremberg, of the Territorial Archives at Prague, of the State Archives at Wiesbaden, etc. In some of the repositories the museum is located in the administrative building; this seems to me a mistake. If there is greater security in the repository proper, why risk placing the most precious records elsewhere?

CHAPTER II. THE VARIETIES OF ARCHIVES

After having examined archives buildings and installations in detail, we turn our attention to the documents preserved in the repositories.

Old Archives

Everywhere, naturally, in State as well as in city archives, are preserved first of all documents of the old regime. But in most places, contrary to the practice at the State Archives of Belgium, the governmental agencies transfer their papers periodically to the repository for old archives.

Modern Archives

Several times I have had occasion to recommend such administrative transfers, and recently I gave you my opinion on a report addressed to you on this subject by the Royal Historical Commission. The model procedure at the Prussian State Archives at Berlin, which was explained to me in detail by Dr. P. Bailleu, director of the

¹² Where lack of space has made it impossible to have an exhibition room, the extraordinary pieces are kept in a safe, or, as at Brussels, in a cabinet in the director's office.

institution, is exactly what I recommended several years ago,¹³ before I had become acquainted with that system. It is actually in the bureaux of the ministries that the archives are classified and catalogued (*répertoriées*) in annual lists. After a period of about 10 years they are transferred to the State Archives, where they retain the classification symbols they bore in the bureaux. When the bureaux have need of information, they send to the archives precise references, which make the search as early as possible. In short, in the preservation of these archives the role of the archivist is reduced to its simplest terms: he keeps the documents.

Article 15 of the Prussian Archives regulations dated January 21, 1904, declares that the State agencies *must* deposit in the State Archives all documents that are no longer constantly needed for their work. If the provincial archivist learns of the existence of such records in a bureau, he *must* claim them through the Governor (*K. Oberpräsident*).

Article 16 imposes upon the provincial archivist the obligation of informing the Director General of the Archives of all State archives that may be in private possession.

In again insisting upon the importance of this question of the preservation of modern administrative archives, I am not at all unaware of the dangers to which its application exposes us. Indeed, it is to be feared that the archives repositories, scientific institutions as they are and should remain, will become simply appendages of ministerial offices and other agencies. This will inevitably be true if the administrative papers come to them in lamentable condition. The archivists would have to begin by arranging them, at the risk of upsetting their original order and rendering future research difficult if not impossible. To avoid this, the appointment of an archivist in each department should be as indispensable as the periodic transfer of documents to be preserved at the archives with the symbols they bore in their respective offices. Moreover, it is to be hoped, as much for the agencies as for the archives, that calls for these documents will not be too frequent. For this reason the limit of 10 years seems to me very short, and, in my opinion, it would be wiser to double or triple the period at the end of which the administrative documents are sent from their offices to archives repositories. The Swiss archivists complain bitterly of having to

¹³ Cf. my essay, *De la nécessité des versements des archives courantes dans les archives anciennes* (*On the Necessity of Transferring Current Archives to the Old Archives*). Report submitted to the International Congress of Administrative Sciences, Brussels, July 1910.

spend most of their time classifying these contemporary records and in purely administrative research.

Another danger is that the invasion of modern administrative papers, which, as a matter of fact, will be consulted more often than the old archives, will end, not only by taking up the archivists' most precious time, but also by pushing into the least favourable places those old archives to whose preservation the archivists have hitherto devoted themselves with such commendable ardour. That this is not an imaginary danger is proved by an example at the State Archives (*Statthaltereiarchiv*) at Innsbruck. Most of the old archives in that repository are piled up in an immense room, which had been used as a theatre in the eighteenth century. Doubtless centuries will pass before the contents of that mass of accumulated archives is known. To avoid this danger in future archives repositories, it will be wise to plan space sufficient to accommodate large accessions from contemporary administrative agencies.

Destruction of Archives

It is necessary also to give much thought to the question of the destruction of archives. If it seems to be agreed now that the destruction of old archives should be undertaken only with the utmost caution, it is also agreed that all contemporary administrative papers need not be preserved indefinitely. At the Prussian Archives a list has been prepared showing the official rulings from 1844 to 1871 on various categories of administrative archives that may be destroyed without inconvenience, after a more or less extensive period of time.¹⁴ In Saxony, as everywhere, the necessity of destroying a large quantity of modern archives is recognised, but it is rightly required that the decision as to which records shall be kept and which destroyed be not made by the bureaus alone, since they generally know nothing of historical matters.¹⁵ At least a regulation of 1877 directs bureaus to submit to their respective ministries a list of documents to be destroyed. The ministries then usually consult the Director of the Archives. It is my opinion that to these mixed commissions of archivists and officials (whose appointment I have

¹⁴ See "Bestimmungen aus dem Geschäftsbereich der K. Preussischen Archivverwaltung," *Mitteilungen*, Heft 10 ("Decisions of the Administrative Branch of the Royal Prussian Archives Administration," *Communications*, No. 10), p. 23.

¹⁵ W. Lippert, "Das Verfahren bei Aktenkassationen in Sachsen," *Deutsche Geschichtsblätter* ("Procedures for the Disposal of Records in Saxony," *German Historical Journal*), 1901, p. 249-264.

already recommended) should fall the task of determining which papers should be preserved and which could be destroyed either immediately or after a certain time.

Communal Archives

There are practically no special comments to be made on the communal archives I saw at Cologne, Mainz, Nuremberg, and Prague. They are much like those of our own communal archives that are well organized. The communes not able to preserve their records properly may deposit them in the State Archives, as is the practice in Belgium.¹⁶

Economic Archives

Archives pertaining to economic history deserve more of our attention. The remarkable economic expansion of Germany during the course of the nineteenth century inspired several chambers of commerce of Rhenish Prussia (particularly in Düsseldorf and Cologne) with the idea of assembling in an archives repository records which would one day make it possible to trace, with full knowledge of the facts, the annals of a development that probably has no parallel in history. The archives of the chambers of commerce constituted the first *fonds* of the collection organized some 10 years ago at Cologne. Gradually archives of financial, industrial, and commercial establishments were added. The assembling of these economic archives was encouraged by the city of Cologne, which at first sheltered them in its repository of communal archives; but because of their expansion it was necessary for them to be removed this year to the Gereonshaus (a sort of lodging house, which we would scarcely consider an ideal repository for such records). Supported financially by chambers of commerce, societies, merchants, and industrialists, the Rhenish-Westphalian Economic Archives developed admirably under the direction of Dr. M. Schwann. So far the institution has to its credit, besides annual reports, three large publications devoted respectively to the origin of the Rhenish Rail-

¹⁶ As long ago as February 17, 1859, the Prussian Minister of the Interior called the attention of the Governors to the fact that they were to prohibit absolutely the communes from selling their archives to foreigners. At the same time, he asked that communal authorities be encouraged to undertake the work of classifying and inventorying their records, preferably in consultation with the State Archivists in the provinces.

way Company, to the tobacco industry and trade, and to Ludolphe Camphausen, a former president of the Chamber of Commerce of Cologne who later became President of the Council of Ministers of Prussia.¹⁷

The collection of Swiss economic archives at Basel was organized in 1910. Dr. Wackernagel, Director of the State Archives at that city, took the initiative and, by installing it in the repository of the State Archives, contributed greatly in winning the confidence of private societies whose records were requested. Professor Bächtold is now in charge of this collection of economic archives, which, it seems to me, will be of great importance in the future.¹⁸ This is not the place to enter into details about an organization which as yet has no parallel in our own country; but it is permissible at present to suggest to persons interested that they visit the collections at Cologne and Basel and read the reports of their directors. The proceedings of the first Conference on Economic Archives, held at Cologne on October 17 and 18 of this year, will also be a source of first importance for those who are organizing collections of economic archives.

Military Archives

In most places the war archives are preserved separately; but nowhere, I believe, have they had a better fortune than in Bavaria (*at Munich*). Since 1904 they have been installed in an edifice constructed for them—the Army Museum. The archives occupy the two upper floors of the right wing of the building; the left wing and lower floors are reserved for the military museum and the military library. Under the direction of Gen. Karl Staudinger, a man as scholarly as he is obliging, they have a marvellous establishment which might serve as a model for many repositories of general archives.

Everything concerning the Bavarian Army from the sixteenth century to present times—archives, manuscripts, maps and plans, engravings, drawings, photographs, pamphlets, cartoons, newspaper clippings, etc., etc.—has been assembled in this collection and admirably classified; inventoried, and catalogued. It seems to me that the entire organization might be recommended for similar institutions.

¹⁷ The papers of this distinguished man, published by Dr. Schwann, will comprise three volumes.

¹⁸ The Economic Archives were separated administratively from the State Archives in 1921 and were removed to quarters of their own in 1932.—Ed.

Collections of Seals

At present there is scarcely an archives repository that does not have its collection of seals. Those at Munich, Dresden, and Vienna are remarkable. In the last named city not only is there equipment for reproducing the seals by electrotyping (for which the electric current of the establishment is used), but a workroom has been set aside for moulding and casting in plaster. At Munich the older methods have been entirely abandoned for electrotyping. At Dresden, under the direction of Dr. Posse, this process has attained a very high degree of perfection.

CHAPTER III. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION OF ARCHIVES

We are now acquainted with the establishments where the records are housed and with the records themselves. It is time to glance at the manner in which the records are used, in other words, at the organization of Archives administrations.

The archival organizations of Prussia and Bavaria most closely resemble ours. Berlin and Munich have, as we, a repository for the General Archives of the Kingdom under the direction of an Archivist General who, at the same time, is head of all the other State Archives (*Staats—or Kreisarchive*). It is through him that the directors of provincial repositories correspond with the Minister, and vice versa. It is to him that these same directors address their reports (in Prussia this is done each month) on affairs pertaining to their respective repositories and on the work of their staffs. The Archivist General (in Prussia he is called the Director General of the Archives) also inspects the provincial repositories each year and addresses a report on the subject to the minister. In brief, from the standpoint of general organization, there is hardly any difference between the Belgian and the Prussian and Bavarian archives administrations.

The situation is different in Saxony, where there is but a single repository of State Archives for the whole Kingdom—the General Archives at Dresden.¹⁹

In Austria-Hungary the archives organization differs entirely from those mentioned above. The best known repository, the

¹⁹ The Director of the Archives here exercises a more active surveillance over the communal archives. A large number of them are inspected annually, and where they are improperly cared for, the Government reprimands the delinquent administrations. Many of the communes, ecclesiastical establishments, and noble families have deposited their Archives in the General Archives at Dresden.

It should be noted that the Military Archives are preserved in a separate building with a separate administration.

Imperial and Royal Archives of the Royal House, the Court, and the State at Vienna, comes under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and has no relation to the archives of the other ministries. The ministries are not always the same for both monarchies. Mention should also be made of the important archives of the Ministry of Finance, and those more recently established for the Ministries of Commerce, Agriculture, Railways, and Public Instruction and Worship; all have repositories at Vienna.

The archives of the Ministry of the Interior of Austria are the most analogous to those of Belgium, but the Archivist of the Vienna repository has direction of his repository only, and cannot interfere in the administration of the *Statthaltereiarhive*—corresponding to our State Archives in the provinces—whose chiefs communicate directly with the minister.

These *Statthaltereiarhive* are established in most, but not in all the provinces; this is a regrettable gap in the Austrian organization. And even where they are established (for example, at Prague and Innsbruck, the two principal repositories of this sort) the installations are far from adequate. Reference has already been made to the deplorable housing of the archives of Tyrol, at Innsbruck. At Prague the records are scarcely better housed. A large quantity of them are stored in the basement of the Church of St. Nicholas, entirely without air and light. A visit to these archives is made with more precautions than are taken for a tour of the catacombs.

Besides State Archives, or *Statthaltereiarhive*, practically all the provinces have *Landesarchive*, or Territorial Archives, corresponding pretty much to our provincial archives, with this difference: in our principal archives of provincial governments there are no documents of the old régime, but the Austrian Territorial Archives possess many records as old as those in the State Archives. Since the domain of the province in relation to the State has not been clearly defined, and since the *Landesarchive* were in nearly every instance created earlier than the State Archives, controversies between the curators of the *Landesarchive* and the *Statthaltereiarhive* over records in the repositories are frequent, and the Archives Council has not yet been able to effect an accord.

The large cities—Vienna, Prague, Innsbruck, etc.—have arranged their communal archives in the usual way. Before leaving Austria I should say a word about the excellent organization of the diocesan archives, which not only include the episcopal archives proper, but also those of rectories and convents when preservation in their original

repositories is unsatisfactory. The bishop allows the establishments that look after their archives to retain them ; nevertheless, he keeps a very close watch over them. For instance, the diocese of Linz is divided into 13 districts, and at the head of each is an ecclesiastic who has demonstrated his competence in the field of archives.

In Switzerland the State Archives of the cantons are absolutely independent of each other. They are purely cantonal organisms, unconnected with a central administration. As for the Archives of the Confederation at Berne, since the Swiss State did not exist prior to 1798, one can hardly expect to find there archives of earlier date than that year.

It follows from this exposition that, without neglecting administrative measures taken in other places, in Prussia and Bavaria especially we find those that can be applied most readily in our Belgian State Archives. From a reading of the regulations of the Prussian Archives it is obvious that their records contain state secrets which could not be given out indiscriminately. Article 21 of the regulations on internal administration, dated January 21, 1904, requires the utmost discretion on the part of the officials and staff of the Archives. They cannot directly or indirectly, orally or in writing, make known or show, publish or allow to be published extracts, attestations, or copies that have come to their knowledge through their profession and may be prejudicial to the rights, claims, or interests of the State. These prohibitions do not terminate when the officials and members of the staff are no longer employed at the Archives. By article 32 of these same regulations, archivists are obliged to submit to the Director General of the Archives all their scientific works in which the archives have been used.

Accessibility

One can well understand that a government so exacting toward its own officials would be even more so toward persons not part of the administration. Articles 27, 28 and 29 of the regulations cited above provide that the directors of archives *may* give citizens and foreign scholars information contained in the archives insofar as it does not concern the Royal House or the State, questions of religion, and other matters for which they deem it necessary to require an authorization procured in advance from the Governor. In the same way, they *may* give information about armorial bearings, seals, estates, the relation of certain families, and certain points of history, insofar as this information is not prejudicial to the public interest.

Under the same conditions Germans are permitted to consult personally archives dated prior to 1700. For researches of a later date the authorization of the Governor or the Director General of the Archives is required, and the purpose for which the records are desired must be stated in writing. For foreigners, the authorization of the Director General of the Archives is in all cases indispensable.

The Bavarian Archives pride themselves on having had since February 28, 1899, the most liberal regulations of all the German Archives. As a matter of fact, they permit responsible persons to consult all records prior to 1801 that are not forbidden "in the interest of the welfare of the State, religious tranquillity, or morality." The archivists are requested to facilitate the work of research and may make inventories available to the public. At the General Archives at Munich, however, I was told that this is done only in very rare instances. At Vienna it is done just as rarely. In Saxony the interests of the treasury prevail in regard to the consultation of the archives. The archivists are not obliged to do extensive research at the request of private individuals. The administration can demand notes that have been taken in the public reading room. On the other hand, documents of earlier date than 1813 may be made available to the public, and catalogues are at their disposal in the reading room.

Outside Loans

In Bavaria as in Prussia and Saxony, the officials are absolutely opposed to lending records to private individuals (Article 9 of the Prussian Archives regulations of 1904 formally forbids it.) They are very willing to lend from one repository to another, however.

In most of the repositories requests for the loan of archives are made by means of a form filled out in the public reading room. One part of this form serves to mark the removal of the document. At Berlin the removal slips are of two colours to indicate whether the loan was within or outside of the repository.

When filling out the loan forms the borrower also signs a register which lists all the documents that have been issued to him and shows the purpose of his research. At the Dresden Archives he promises in writing to give the institution copies of publications in which he makes use of its archives.

Hours of Admission

The fact that most of the investigators are obliged to do their work at the repository naturally affects its hours of admission. The

following examples are given of the hours in which the State Archives repositories visited by me are open to the public.

- Prussia:* Berlin (General Archives) 9 to 3
(Saturday 9 to 2)
Düsseldorf, 8 to 1 and 3 to 6
Wiesbaden, 8 to 1
Breslau, 8 to 1 and three times a week
4 to 7.
- Bavaria:* Munich, 8 to 4
Nuremberg, 8 to 4
Bamberg, 8 to 4.
- Saxony:* Dresden, 9 to 1 and 3 to 6 (Saturday 9 to 3).
- Austria-Hungary:* Vienna (Imperial and Royal Archives of the
Royal House, the Court, and the State),
9:30 to 7
Prague (State Archives), 9 to 2
(Territorial Archives), 9 to 2
Innsbruck (State Archives), 8 to 1 and 3 to 5.
- Switzerland:* Zurich, 8 to 12 and 2 to 6
Lucerne, 8 to 12 and 2 to 6
Basel, 8 to 12 and 2 to 6.

Of course the archivists are not obliged to be present during the entire day. The various members of the staff usually work in relays. The Prussian Archives regulations of 1904 prescribe 30 hours a week as the minimum for keeping the repositories open but provide that the staff members may be required to work longer.

Work of the Staff

Naturally, the principal task of the scientific personnel consists of classifying and inventorying the records confided to their care. In Prussia, since July 1, 1881, the principle of provenance has been followed in the general arrangement of the archives, and this principle is also recognized if not always applied²⁰ in the archives of Bavaria, Saxony, Austria, and Switzerland.

As a general rule, both summary and detailed inventories are published at the expense of the State. But independent of these

²⁰ The archivists of the cities and circuits complain that a quantity of valuable documents which do not belong to Munich have been concentrated in the General Archives there. On the other hand, it is obvious that for collections classified several centuries ago—for instance the *excerpta* at Innsbruck, and many others—the principle of provenance could not be applied without great difficulty.

published inventories, in many repositories (Vienna, Nuremberg, Dresden, Munich, etc.) the practice is followed of making general catalogues on slips, thus enabling the searcher to obtain quickly information about a person, the name of a place, an historical event, or an agency of the government.

In general the archives administrations do not confine themselves to the publication of inventories. If the publication of series of documents seems to be left more and more to academic commissions, on the other hand in recent years there has been a strong tendency among Directors General of the Archives to publish real works on archival economy. For many years the *Archivalische Zeitschrift* (*Archival Journal*) was an official publication of Bavarian Archives administration, and, if lately it seems to have lost this character, it still remains true to its programme in the sense that studies on archival economy are always given a preferred place. But all praise is due to the *Mitteilungen der K. Preussischen Archivverwaltung* (*Communications of the Royal Prussian Archives Administration*), which in about 10 years' time has published 24 numbers, including a series of studies devoted to the history, arrangement, and construction of the principal repositories of archives of the Kingdom, to search in foreign archives, to administrative regulations, and to sciences auxiliary to archival economy.

In Austria-Hungary the *Mitteilungen der Dritten (Archiv-)sektion der K. u. K. Zentral Kommission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der kunst—und historischen Denkmäler* (*Communications of the Third (Archives) Section of the Imperial and Royal Central Commission on the Study and Preservation of Art Relics and Historical Monuments*) contains numerous studies on the organization of the Austrian archives. This publication does not seem to us to be issued regularly enough to be able to contain all the studies produced by the Austrian archivists; they have frequent recourse, however, to unofficial historical reviews.

Reports to the Archivist General

Article 36 of the Prussian Archives regulations dated January 21, 1904, provides that at the end of each month the Director General shall receive from the directors of provincial repositories a report of the work of their personnel. At the end of the year a general report is submitted to him containing, in addition, a list of the new accessions of archives, books, and maps and plans, as well as a statement of work

done by the personnel for remuneration. In April he receives the accounts.

CHAPTER IV. THE ARCHIVES PERSONNEL

It is hardly necessary to state that everywhere today archivists are required to have professional preparation. In the places recently visited—Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Austria-Hungary, and Switzerland—preference is frankly given to historical preparation, but usually great importance is attached to a knowledge of archival economy proper, as well as to a knowledge of the history of law and of administrative law.

In view of the almost identical organization of the Prussian, Bavarian, and Belgian State Archives, it is not surprising that here, too, we should give special attention to the requirements in Prussia and Bavaria. Prussia (with its General Archives at Berlin having jurisdiction over the 16 State Archives in the provinces and a professional personnel of about 75 persons), Bavaria (with its 34 professional archivists and its 8 Circuit Archives under the jurisdiction of the General Archives at Munich), and Belgium (with its General Archives and 8 provincial repositories employing 40 archivists), have many analogies, not only from an administrative point of view, but also from that of the recruiting and professional training of their archives personnel.

In Prussia candidate archivists serve 2 years' probation at the State Archives. They must have a knowledge of paleography, diplomatics, chronology, Latin, middle high German, low German, and French. They must know German history of the Middle Ages and of the Reformation period and the ancient and modern history of Brandenburg and Prussia. They must also have a general knowledge of the historical geography of Germany, and of the history of art in the Middle Ages.

As for law, they are required to have principally a knowledge of the elements of the science of law, of private Roman law, of the history of German law and government, of German and Prussian constitutional law, of Prussian administrative law and its history, of the law of German procedure, of ecclesiastical law, of national economy, and of finance.

Finally and especially, they must show that they possess a thorough knowledge of the theory and practice of archival economy.

To acquire this information, the candidates must have attended for at least two semesters a seminar on auxiliary sciences to history ;

they must have had two semesters of history and a semester of German philology; and they must have taken part during at least one semester in the practice of archival economy. Regarding the last requirement, the Director General of the Archives gives a course and practical exercises²¹ in connection with the courses of auxiliary sciences at the University of Berlin. This does not impose upon the candidates the obligation of attending the courses at this rather than at another university. The entire course of studies requires from 6 to 8 semesters.

Before admission as an archivist, the candidate must render a volunteer service of 2 years and pass an examination which is generally given at the end of his first year. He cannot be admitted as a volunteer until he has finished his university studies. The examination is taken before a commission composed of the Director General of the Archives as chairman, with another Archives official (usually the Second Director) as deputy, and four professors of the university chosen respectively from among those who teach history, auxiliary sciences, law, and German philology. Besides certificates of studies, of probation, of military service, of health, etc., to be furnished to the Director General, the candidate must pay an examination fee of 50 marks. The examination is oral. In cases of failure the candidate may, a half-year later, try again; but he may not be examined a third time. If he passes, he obtains a certificate which, however, gives him no *right* to an appointment.

On the whole, in its major points, the decree of May 3, 1906, concerning admission to the State Archives of Prussia is only a duplication of the decree of March 3, 1882, concerning the examination of candidate archivists in the Archives of the Kingdom of Bavaria. There, also, the university diploma of doctor of laws or of history, or of professor of philology or of history is required for admission as a probationary in the Archives. There the probation lasts 3 years, during which time all facilities are given to enable the candidate to perfect himself in all branches of archival economy. At the end of this period he must pass a practical test before a commission composed of the Director of the Archives and two archivists appointed by the Minister of the Interior. This test—part written and part oral—covers archival subjects, including, besides archival economy proper, paleography and diplomatics; historical subjects, that is, the history of Germany, of Europe, and of Bavaria, and the medieval geography

²¹ Until last year there were courses on archival economy at the University of Marburg, but they are now given only at Berlin. This does not prevent the volunteer service from being performed at a State repository other than that of the General Archives of the Kingdom, however.

of Germany ; subjects in the field of jurisprudence, such as political history and German law, the elements of civil law, and canon law ; and philology and the French language. When necessary, candidates are required to continue working at the Archives until a place becomes vacant.

Finally, it should be noted that in Austria-Hungary, also, preparation in history seems to be preferred to legal training. There, too, a university diploma alone is not generally sufficient. For appointment to the Archives it is necessary, after completing university studies, to pass an examination at the Institute for Austrian Historical Research, where importance is attached to a knowledge of archival economy.

In Bavaria and Prussia, besides the archivists, there is, above the maintenance personnel, a category of employees who, in Belgium, are to be found only at the General Archives of the Kingdom. They are the administrative officials or *Kanzleisecretäre*. Needless to say, they never become archivists, and their entire career is in the administration proper. Their presence seems to me indispensable in a central administration such as the General Archives of the Kingdom, but I cannot bring myself to justify their existence in all the provincial repositories. Administrative duties and the copying of letters and inventories are not so burdensome in these repositories that they cannot be done by the young archivists. I might further say that the performance of this work by beginners seems necessary if they have the legitimate ambition of some day becoming chiefs of repositories. When that time comes, they will be obliged to know the administrative work, and they will be fortunate in not having to depend upon a subordinate for this part of their duties. I hasten to add that this is one of the reasons why I have long advocated a knowledge of administrative law for archivists.

Archival economy is even more important, because it concerns the very root of the knowledge necessary for archivists. Unfortunately, it is not yet taught in our country. There is no doubt that until we have instruction on this fundamental subject, it will be difficult to reach a complete accord regarding archives publications—particularly inventories. For a long time I would have preferred the introduction of such a course in each of our universities ; if required for the doctorate in history, it would have been obligatory for future archivists. But from what I saw and heard during the course of my trip, I now believe it would be better to organize a course at the Archives, similar to the one given in Berlin ; for it is there that, in addition to the indispensable theoretical part, they can best devote the

major part to practice. Simply by royal decree this course could be combined with probationary service of 1 year and be added to the required programme of a candidate archivist.

Salaries

The problem of recruitment of the archives personnel is closely linked with that of salaries. It may be a matter for regret, but whether we like it or not the material advantages attached to a position count for much in the choice of a career. The better individuals unquestionably are attracted to the more lucrative professions, which, it should be said, are generally the most respected. In view of the ever increasing requirements made by public authorities of those seeking to obtain a position as archivist, it has been felt in foreign countries that the incumbents of these positions should receive proper compensation. To confine ourselves to the several countries that are the subject of this report, the following figures will give an idea of the remuneration of their archivists.

In Prussia the assistants are started at 2,125 francs; once they become archivists their salary is doubled, and they may reach 9,000 francs.²² At the General Archives of Berlin, this salary reaches 9,750 francs for those below the grade of Second Director and Director General. These two high officials, whose positions correspond to the Assistant Archivist General and the Archivist General in Belgium, enjoy respectively minimum salaries of 12,250 francs and 16,625 francs. The archivists are also given living expenses, which at Berlin and Wiesbaden, for example, amount to 1,625 francs. Some of the archivists (those who distinguish themselves by their zeal and merit) receive an additional annual allowance of 1,200 francs.

In Bavaria the archivists begin at 3,750 francs and reach 7,500 francs in 19 years; the section chiefs (*Archivräte*) start at this figure and go to 10,500 francs. The Director of the General Archives of the Kingdom begins at 10,500 francs and may reach 14,250 francs. Besides that, many archivists (those of Nuremberg, for instance) are housed in the archives building.

In Saxony the section chiefs progress from 6,900 francs to 10,500 francs, and the Director advances from 12,525 francs to 15,150 francs.

In Austria-Hungary the Archivists-editors, class II, reach 4,400 francs; class I, 5,650 francs. The archivists progress from 5,100 francs

²² The value of the Belgian franc in 1913 was 19·3 cents.—Ed.

to 7,150 francs ; the section chiefs, from 6,800 francs to 9,300 francs ; and the Director from 10,600 francs to 14,910 francs. They also receive the additional annual allowance always granted (*Aktivitätszulagen*), which for archivists is 1,700 francs, for section chiefs, 1,950 francs, and for the Director, 2,350 francs.

Pensions are generally based on these salaries.

Vacations

It remains for me to say a word about vacations, which in other countries are much longer than in ours but usually vary according to rank. In Prussia all the officials and employees of the State Archives are allowed 6 weeks' vacation. In Saxony the Director of the Archives, on his own authority, may grant a month's vacation to all the archivists. When more leave is required it is necessary to appeal to the minister. In Bavaria the assistant and circuit archivists are entitled to a month's vacation, the section chiefs to 6 weeks. In Austria the archivists are entitled to 4 weeks, the section chiefs to 6 weeks, and the Director to 2 months ; all this is exclusive of the scientific missions that are very frequent and very well paid for in all these countries.

CONCLUSION

To sum up in a few lines the principal conclusions of this report, from the point of view of improvements that could be made within a relatively short time in the administration of the Belgian Archives, I limit myself to restating here the following points:

In regard to new archives repositories, discontinue entirely the practice of adapting old buildings ; construct new edifices and separate the administrative buildings from the repository proper. To preserve maps and documents on parchment, provide for the manufacture of cartons pierced with holes and make small circular openings where necessary in the old model cartons. Keep an eye on the periodic cleaning of the archives, and in large repositories delegate this work to one person who will be constantly occupied with it. A doctor of chemical sciences should be appointed to the General Archives of the Kingdom of Belgium ; he would take care of all matters pertaining to the repair of documents, to processes for restoring faded writings, to photography, and to electrotyping. A museum should be organized.

The periodic transfers of administrative papers to the State Archives should be required ; and the State should give its moral support to bodies disposed to create a collection of contemporary economic archives.

Although our regulations still contain a few restrictive provisions, the Belgian Archives are in fact absolutely accessible, and in this regard we have nothing to learn from abroad.

Provision for the preparation of archivists should be completed immediately by establishing for them a course in archival economy. The provisions for salaries, pensions, and vacations should be improved.

Accept, Mr. Minister, the expression of my deepest respect,

J. CUVELIER

The Archivist General of the Kingdom

THE INDIAN ARCHIVES

The Indian Archives is a bi-annual journal published by the National Archives of India on behalf of the Indian Historical Records Commission. It was started in 1947 with the object of stimulating interest in and imparting knowledge about the science of archives keeping and preservation of manuscripts among individuals and institutions dealing with records and historical manuscripts. The journal contains contributions, of technical as well as of general interest, on methods of preservation and repair of documents ; microfilming and other forms of documentary reproduction ; records administration ; preparation of reference media ; editing of records ; records of public bodies, semi-public institutions, business firms, political parties, universities and colleges, religious and charitable institutions and ancient families ; records of Indian interest in foreign countries and migration of historical manuscripts ; library science and library practices and restoration of paintings and other works of art. One entire section of the journal is devoted to *News Notes* giving accounts of latest developments in archival work in India and abroad, new finds of records and historical manuscripts and latest happenings in the library world. The *Book Reviews* deal with publications relating to archival work, studies based on records, modern Indian history, library science and museology.

The journal is edited by an Editorial Board consisting of: the Director of Archives to the Government of India ; Dr. J. N. Muckerjee, formerly Professor of Chemistry, Calcutta University ; Dr. S. R. Ranganathan, Professor of Library Science, Delhi University ; Dr. G. L. Chopra, Keeper of Records to the Punjab Government and Dr. S. N. Sen, Vice-Chancellor, Delhi University. The subscription per annum is Rs. 4/- (6 s. foreign) and the price of a single number is Rs. 2/- (3 s. foreign).

SOME OPINIONS

The new publication is further evidence of the awakening interest in, and sense of responsibility for, the manuscript accumulations of which India has a great store. Its object is to make the nature and whereabouts of these possessions more generally known, and to give advice on their care and preservation.

The Times Literary Supplement,
19 July 1947.

The Indian Archives is a welcome addition to periodical literature on documentation and to the specialist journals of India The first number has a very interesting selection, it is well produced and will be well received by all concerned with archives and their keeping.

Nature, 30 August 1947.

The Indian Archives has a worthy purpose and is well launched.
The American Archivist,
October 1947.

The journal as a whole is a fine piece of work, and a well-indexed file of it will provide the Indian archivist with an adequate handbook at the same time that it creates in him a sense of his developing profession.

The Library Quarterly,
October 1950.

Special mention should be made of the section of the news notes in which the work of the various record offices in India is summarized. This information is not generally known and not easily obtainable by Western archivists and historians.

American Historical Review,
October 1947.

SELECT CONTENTS

- Survey of India Records by *R. H. Phillimore* (Vol. I, No. 1).
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